



**A Critical Study of Shams Al-Din Al-Dhahabi's
(D. 749/1347) Contribution to Arabic Literature
With Special Referenc to His Historical Work**

A T H E S I S

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A B S T R A C T

The doctoral thesis entitled, 'A critical study of Shams Al-Din Al-Dhahabi's (D. 749/1347) Contribution to Arabic Literature With Special Reference to His Historical Work' consists of an introduction and six chapters along with a bibliography. The thesis comprises 179 pages.

The contents are as follows :

Introduction

Chapter I : Al-Dhahabi's biographical Sketch.

Chapter II : Al-Dhahabi's Contemporaries

Chapter III : Al-Dhahabi's works

Chapter IV : Al-Dhahabi's style and works on
historical literature

Chapter V : Al-Dhahabi's Tarikh al-Islam

- A critical analysis.

Section - A : The Manuscripts of the Tarikh al-Islam

Section - B : An analysis of the Tarikh al-Islam

Section - C : General Narrative of it

Section - D : Biographies in the Tarikh

Section - E : An importance of his Tarikh.

Cont.

- 2 -

Chapter VI : Al-Dhahabi's position

Bibliography.

The introduction throws light on the significance of the Topic, pointing out the main features of the life of Shams al-Din al-Dhahabi, the background of the age concerned and valuable contributions made in the field of Arabic language and Literature.

Al-Dhahabi (613-148/1274-1347 A.D.) lived and worked between the later half of the 7th/13th and early half of the 8th/14th centuries. In this age, the Arabic literature was passing through a crisis. Stagnation and decadence were apparently visible in the society. But, at the same time, the intellectual energy and literary taste that displayed themselves in this period must not be underrated.

So many outstanding scholars rose to eminence like Lisan al-Din b al-Khatib (d.776/1376). Ibn Batufa (d.179/1371), Al-Qazwini (d. 682/1283) Al-Damashqi (d.127/1327) Ibn al-Wardi (d.850/1446) Ibn Khallikani (d.681/1282), Al-Safadi (d.164/1363), Taj al-Din al-Subki (d.771/1370), Ibn Farheen (d.799/1397) and Shams al-Din al-Dhahabi (d.148/1348) and

many others in different fields of literature.

In the field of history and historical biographies, al-Dhabi made a very significant contribution. His 'Tarikh al-Islam' is no doubt, the most authentic and most important contribution on Mongol invasion of the caliphate. A detailed study of this valuable historical work is made in the thesis.

The first chapter deals with the biography of al-Dhakabi. He was having Turkish lineage and belongs to the Shafiite School of Islamic jurisprudence. He was brought up at Damascus. His father began to deal in gold by making the finished products out of it. He attained great efficiency and expertise in this profession. Thus, he was called al-Dhahabi (Gold Dealer). Shams al-Din al-Dhahabi was born in the year of 673/1274. He got education from some of the very prominent scholars of the time. He soon

excelled as Muhaddis Qari, Faqih, and Muarrikh.

He was called Shaikh al-Muhaddisin. . . .

The second chapter provides details of al-Dhahabi's contemporaries Al-Dhahabi actually lived and worked under the Bahri Mamluk rules (648/792/1250-1390) in Egypt and Syria. This was a very disturbed period from the point of view of Mongol invasion. But there grew up a number of eminent scholars in different branches of Islamic learning. Among these, mention can be made of the following : Lisan al-Din al-Khalib, Ibu Khaldun, Safi al-Din Al-Hilli, Ibu Taba Taba Abu al-Fida, al-Safadi and Ibu Shaker al-Kutubi,

The third chapter brings into lime light al-Dhahabi's works. Some of his works have attained a high standard in the East and the west alike. His works on Ibu al-Rijal (The Science of Narrators)

have become very popular. His compilations, abridgements and exegeses are numbered about one hundred. His works on the science of Hadith Literature are great in numbers. Some of the important works are Tahdhib-al-Tahdhib, Mizan al-Itidal fi Naqd al-Rijal, Tarikh al-Islam Siyar A'lam al-Nubala Kitab Duwal al-Islam, Al-Ibar, Tadhkirat al-Huffaz, Tabwat al Ourra and Hujam al-Shuyukh etc.

The fourth chapter deals with al-Dhahabi's style and works on historical literature.

The fifth chapter provides a detailed study of Tarikh al-Islam and it is further divided into five sub-chapters.

The sixth and the last chapter deals with al-Dhahabi's position. At the end, a bibliography consisting of ten pages is given.

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C_E_R_T_I_F_I_C_A_T_E

It is certified that Mrs. Sultana Razia Khanam, Enrolment No.R-4545 has completed her Ph.D. work entitled " A Critical Study of Shams Al-Din Al-Dhahabi's (D.749/1347) Contribution to Arabic Literature with Special Reference to His Historical Work". The thesis concerned embodies the findings and results of investigations conducted under my supervision.

The work is original.

It is now forwarded for the award of Ph.D. Degree in Arabic.

Abdul Bari
(Dr.) Abdul Bari
Reader & Supervisor

C O N T E N T S

	<u>PAGE:</u>
PREFACE: 	1
INTRODUCTION: 	1
CHAPTER-I: Al-Dhahabī's biographical sketch ...	19
CHAPTER-II: Al-Dhahabī's Contemporaries ...	38
CHAPTER-III: Al-Dhahabī's works ...	58
CHAPTER-IV : Al-Dhahabī's style and works on historical literature ...	79
CHAPTER-V : Al-Dhahabī's Tārīkh al-Islām - A Critical Analysis ...	92
SECTION-A: The Manuscripts of the Tārīkh al-Islām	93
SECTION-B: An Analysis of the Tārīkh al-Islām	102
SECTION-C: General Narrative of it ...	103
SECTION-D: Biographies in the Tārīkh ...	123
SECTION-E: An importance of his Tārīkh ...	136
CHAPTER-VI : Al-Dhahabī's position ...	158
BIBLIOGRAPHY: 	170

P R E F A C E

Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī (673-748 A.H) 1274-1348 A.D) has made a significant contribution to the fields of History of Islām, Tradition of the Prophet Maḥammad (s), canon law of the theological Schools, Biographies of the traditionists, historians, theologians and Science of traditions (ʿIlm al-Ḥadīth) and Science of narrators (ʿIlm Asmāʾ al-Rijāl). His writings embrace all the major aspects of history tradition and theology. Through my intensive study and research I have come to discover as many as one hundred important works of al-Dhahabī as his compilations, abridgments and exegeses. About half of his works are available in the form of published books and brochures, and more than half of his works are in manuscript form which are available in different libraries of the world. Like all the post-classical Arab authors al-Dhahabī's works are also found in compilatory character.

Though there has been studies of al-Dhahabī's individual works in the form of editing, translating, commentaries and criticism, no comprehensive study of the entire corpus of his literary and historical output has been attempted till to-date. And to my mind this is sufficient justification for the attempt into an assimilation and over all assessment of all the important extant literary and

and historical works of al-Dhahabī. The topic approved by the Committee of Advance Studies and Research (CASR) of the Faculty of Arts, Aligarh Muslim University for my research leading to Ph.D. degree is " A Critical study of Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī's (d.748/1347) contribution to Arabic Literature with special reference to his historical work." The meeting of the Committee held on 20.12.1983. Before this work the same University) conferred to me M.Phil Degree under the topic, "The literary contribution of some Important Historians contemporary to Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī" in 1986.

In the preparation of this Ph.D.thesis, I received ungrudging help, enlightened guidance and constant assistance from my supervisor Dr. Abdul Bāri M.A.Ph.D.(Patna), (Reader, Department of Arabic, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh. I register to him my deepest sense of gratitude and thankfulness for providing me with valuable suggestion and many books. He has gone through the manuscript of the thesis and made adjustment after necessary correction. In all phases of the work he extended utmost facilities which made the work to see the light of the day. I also register my sense of gratitude and thankfulness to Professor Mukhtār ud-Dīn Ahmad, ex-Chairman, Department of Arabic, Aligarh Muslim University for providing me with valuable

suggestion and manuscripts from his own personal collection.

For collection of materials for my research, I have been consulting the libraries of Aligarh, Delhi, Patna and Osmania Universities, and the National Library of Calcutta. I also consulted all the available sources in various libraries of Bangladesh. I am much thankful to the staff of these libraries.

My thanks are also due to Professor Muhammad Rashed, Chairman, Department of Arabic, Aligarh Muslim University who always encouraged and helped me with valuable suggestions and materials regarding the topic of my research work.

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Allah alone is besought for help and on Him alone we depend.

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī (673-748 A.H/1274-1347 A.D) lived and worked between the later half of the 7th/13th and early half of the 8th/14th centuries when Arabic literature has been steadily losing its qualities of originality, creativeness, imagination and vitality and at last has completely been stagnant, with some exceptional Arabic literary contributions produced by a few historians, literary men and authors who may be considered as a beam of light in this age of darkness in the Muslim world. It is further noticed that in the vast new territories added to the Islamic world between the period under review, as indeed already in Persia and central Asia, the medium of belle's-letters and poetry was no longer Arabic, but Persian and Turkish . These new literatures, while drawing to a greater or less extent on the traditions of Arabic literature not only contributed nothing to Arabic letters, but siphoned off the talents which might otherwise have rejuvenated Arabic literature or opened it up to new experiences. When it is recalled how much that had given variety and resilience to the literature of the preceding centuries was produced or initiated in the Persian Provinces, the effect of their loss to Arabic letters can be readily appreciated¹.

At the same time, the intellectual energy and literary taste that displayed themselves in this period must not be underrated. Original works of belles-— letters may be few, but the same vigour and freshness of mind that broke through even in the scholastic disciplines found other fields of exercise, specially in the first four centuries.

1. Cf. E.D., "Arabiyya", Encyclopadia of Islam (Leyden: E.J.Brill, 1965), Vol.i, P.593.

It was in the continuing impulse of the Hellenistic tradition, in the immense development of historical composition, and under the growing stimulus of Sufism that they were most active, yet from time to time certain writers found ways and means to express their interests and personalities in works which bear an individual stamp. Amongst the travellers Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d. 779/1377) of Tangier was famous. Even in al-Andalus (Spain) prose literature was largely or belated reflection of eastern models. Granada produced in the versatile Lisān Al-Dīn b. al-Khāṭib (d. 776/1376) one of the last all-round masters of Arabic literary art. Scientific geography which attained one of its peaks in the world-map and descriptive text compiled by the Sharīf al-Idrīsī for Roger II of Sicily in 548/1158, still survived to the time of Abū al-Fidā', Sulṭān of Ḥamāh (d. 732/1331), but was already giving way to electric literary art of cosmography, exemplified by Zakariyyā al-Qazwīnī (d. 682/1283), Shams al-Dīn al-Dimashqī (d. 727/1327) and Sirāj al-Dīn b. al-Wardī (d. 850/1446). On a more restricted scale, the Hellenistic legacy entered into the encyclopaedic tendency, exemplified not only by al-Ṭūsī and al-Rāzī, but also by many lesser compilers. Encyclopaedism, prevailing emphasis on religious studies and philology, took many forms. The simplest and most compact was the alphabetical arrangement of data in a given field or fields, as in the dictionary of Nisbas (Kitāb al-Ansāb) compiled by Tāj al-Dīn al-Samānī (d. after 551/1156), on the basis of which the Greek Yāqūt compiled his geographical dictionary (Kitāb al-Bulḍān). The field which offered the widest scope for this treatment was that of biography, whether general beginning with the Wafayāt al-A'yān of Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282), and followed by others, notably the

voluminous al-Wāfī bi al-Wafayāt of Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363) or limited to particular classes of savants and men of letters: of Physicians by Ibn Abī'Uṣaybia (d. 668/1270); of men of letters by Yāqūt (Mūjam al-Uḍabā' in 20 volumes); of jurists of the different Schools, notably by Tāj al-Dīn al Subkī, the Shāfiite (d. 771/1370), Ibn Qutabughā, the Ḥanafite (d. 879/1474) and Ibn Farḥūn, the Maliki (d. 799/1397); of traditionists by Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348); and many others. The already established practice of compiling dictionaries of scholars and eminent men and women associated with a particular city or region was continued on an extensive, and sometimes massive scale, e.g. for Aleppo by Kamāl al-Dīn b. al-Admin (d. 660/1262); for Egypt by al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442); for al-Andalus by Ibn al-Abbār (d. 658/1260); and for Granada by Ibn al-Khaṭīb. A novel principle, introduced by Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalanī, was to organise biographical dictionaries by centuries; his dictionary of notabilities of the 8th/14th Century (al-Durar al-Kāminā) was followed followed for the 9th/15th and 10th /16th centuries .

A second direction taken by encyclopadism was to combine several branches of learning in a single work. Al-Nuwayrī (d. 732/1332) dealt in Nihayat al-Arab with geography, natural science and, universal history; and the 'Egyptian Secretary al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418) combined and supplemented two works by his predecessor al-'Umarī (d. 748/1348) in his Ṣubḥ al-Ashā, to serve as a manual of history, geography and chancery procedure, and to supply models of Inshā' for the Secretaries.

In the secular sciences, the most impressive production was in the field of history. The Sunni movement encouraged the revival of the Universal history began by al-Muntaẓam of Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200) expanded in the magisterial Kāmil of Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1234), and continued with varying emphases by Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 654/1257), al-Nuwayrī, Abū al-Fidā', al-Dhahabī and Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373). Regional and dynastic chronicles were cultivated in every province from central Asia to West Africa, and more specially by the sequence of major historians in Mamlūk Egypt. Rashīd al-Dīn (d. 718/1318), the historian of the Mongols, produced an Arabic version of his work. It is noteworthy that after the brilliant works of 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (Kharīdat al-Qaṣr, etc.) the ornate style of rhyming prose chronicle was largely discarded in favour of plain annalistic, and is represented only by two later works of any importance in Arabic literature: a history of the Mamlūk Sultāns by Ibn Ḥabīb al-Dimashqī (d. 779/1377). On a smaller scale, but also conceived primarily as a work of adab was the anecdotal history of the Caliphs and their viziers compiled under the title al-Fakhṛī by the 'Irāqī Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā (d. 709/1309) in 701/1301.

The growing fixation of the traditional literary arts bore with special weight upon the secular poetry of this period. Diwans abound, but few of the more classical poets gained more than a fleeting reputation except the Iraqi Safi al-Din al-Hilli (d. 749/1349), the Syrian Ibn Hijja al-Hamawi (d. 837/1434), and of the lyrical poets Baha al-Din Zuhayr of Egypt (d. 656/1258). A Panegyric on the Prophet, known as al-Burda composed in elaborate badi by the Egyptian al-Busiri

(d. 696/1296), became and has remained one of the classics of religious poetry. An isolated attempt made by the ocalist and wit Ibn Daniyal (d. 710/1310) to give a place in literature to the popular shadow play¹ seems to have met with no success².

In this way when we study Arabic literature of the period under review we find that in the description of history there is hardly any separation between works on History mainly related to the political events and Biography taken as one of the branches of history. This is due to the two sources from which historical traditions are derived: The Sīrat Literature (al-Maghāzī wa al-Siyar) dealing with the life of the Prophet Muḥammad (Peace be on him) and the semi legendary traditions related to the tribal warfare of the Jāhiliyya period known as Ayyām al-ʿArab and Ansāb al-ʿArab³. These two factors were actually responsible for the gradual built up of Arabic historiography. On the one hand, parallel to the Sīrat literature, there developed the Tabaqāt literature containing biographies (ʿilm al-Rijāl) first on the companions of Muḥammad, then on all sorts of illustrious men arranged into classes (Tabaqāt) according to the year of their death. The kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kubrā of Ibn Sāʿd al-Zuhrī (d.230/845) was the first standard work of this kind of literature, which flourished specially in the post classical period of Arabic literature in the increasing quantity of Tabaqāt works on rulers, theologians,

1. Cf. Paul Kahle, "The Arabic Shadow Play in Egypt", The Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (London, 1940), PP 21-34.

2. Cf. Ed., Arabiyya", Encyclopadia of Islam, PP. 594-5.

3. A good survey of the Ayyām al-ʿArab is given by Ibn al-Athīr in his Kāmil, Vol.i, PP. 367-517 and by al-Nawayrī in his Nihayat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab, Fann V. Qism iv, Kitāb v.

jurisconsults and poets¹.

But parallel to this biographical literature there developed a historical literature Stricto Sensu treating of the struggles of Islām and the history of the caliphate. Originated in the works on the Ayyām al-ʿArab, it dealt with the first wars of Islām: the Maghāzī and the rapid conquests on the new faith. The prototype of this literature on political history is the kitāb al-Maghāzī of al-Wāqidi (d. 207/823), but its real standard work was created by al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), whose Tārīkh al-Rusul Wa al-Mulūk has ever since been considered all the later historians as a pattern and a reliable source as well².

But even in the post-classical period of Arabic historiography there had been no strict separation between political history and historical biography. The biographical element has pervaded the political history through all the stages of its development. This is clearly seen not only from the exterior arrangement of these works, which were divided into chapters relative to the rulers, whilst also retaining the annalistic form, but also from their subject matter, which is hardly anything else but the history of rulers. This is conspicuous in works both on the history of cities or provinces and on dynastic or general history. Such works as the Tārīkh Baghdād of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 403/1071) or the Tārīkh Madīna Dimashq of Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 571/1176) or the Kitāb Bughyat al-Ṭālib fī Tārīkh Ḥalab

1. Cf. Joseph de Somogyi, "The Tārīkh al-Islām of al-Dhahabī", The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (London, 1932), P. 815.

2. Ibid, P. 815.

of Ibn al-Adīm (d. 660/1262) are in the strict sense of the word rather biographical collections than historical works. And one can hardly decide whether the Bayān al-Maghrib of Ibn al-Adharī (lived in the 4th century A.H) and many other works on Spanish and Maghribian history would not be better ranked among the biographical works than among those on political history. Again, in the works dealing with the history of dynasties or single rulers written in a panegyric style the predominance of the biographical element is manifest, as in the Kitāb al-Yamanī of al-'Utbi (d. 427/1036) or in the Kitāb al-Rawdatayn fī Akhbār al-Dawlatayn of Abū Shāma (d. 665/1268)¹.

From the beginning of the 5th/11th century, a compilatory activity can be perceived in all branches of Muslim Science. A wellnigh endless variety of compendiums and concise text books and lexica are written on Philology, history and religious and natural science as well. This activity manifests itself both in political history and in biography. In political history the necessity of both the continuation and the abbreviation of al-Ṭabarī's work called into existence a host of voluminous compilations, as the al-Kāmil fī al-Tārikh of Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233), the Kitāb Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal of Barhabraeus (d. 688/1289), the Mukhtaṣar Tārikh al-Baṣhar of Abū al-Fidā' (d. 732/1331) and the Kitāb al-Fakhri of Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā (d. about 701/1301), which is one of the best compendiums of Muslim history written in Arabic. The same activity is to be seen in biographical literature also. The former local or professional biographies had grown into the great collections of general biography, from which the companions of the Prophet (S) and the first four Caliphs were excluded as being well-known from the Ṭabaqāt works. The most famous

1. Ibid, P. 816.

work of this kind the Kitāb Wafayāt al-Āyān of Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282), with its continuation, the Fawāt al-Wafayāt of al-Kutubī (d. 764/1363), the Tārīkh al-Hukamā' of al-Qiftī (d. 646/1248), and the 'Uyūn al-Anbā' fī- Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā' of Ibn Abī Usaybiyya (d. 668/1270) serve as reliable guides in this vast biographical literature¹.

But at the same time, the necessity arose of further compilations comprising both political history and biographies of the illustrious in the same work. As a matter of course, this style of historiography was chiefly cultivated by the encyclopaedists whose number rapidly increased from the 6th/12th century and who embraced the whole range of human knowledge of their time. The first scholar who compiled a symposium of both general history and historical biography in one work was the celebrated Baghdad Polyhistor Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200). With this Kitāb al-Muntaẓam Ibn al-Jawzī initiated a new school of historiography in Arabic literature. Because, his work contains both general history in short annalistic form and also the obituary notices of all the persons of some consequence who died in the several years². The Kitāb al-Muntaẓam was considered as a standard work on general history by many illustrious later historians. Specially the Mir'āt al-Zamān of Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī (grand son of Ibn al-Jawzī, died in 654/1256) should be mentioned in this connection. Because, Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī exactly followed the method of his famous ancestor, whose Kitāb al-Muntaẓam he continued upto his own time and enlarged with

1. Cf. Joseph de Samogyi, "The Tārīkh al-Islām of al-Dhahabī", The Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (London, 1932), PP. 816-17.

2. Cf. Joseph de Somogyi, "The Kitāb al-Muntaẓam of Ibn al-Jawzī", The Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (London, 1932), PP. 49-76.

additional matters often disregarded by Ibn al-Jawzī, as the local history of Syria, specially of Damascus, The system laid down by the Kitāb al-Muntaẓam was adopted by numerous later authors, as by Muḥammad b. Shākir al-Kutubī (d. 764/1363) in his general history 'Uyūn al-Tawārīkh and also by al-Taghrībardī (d. 874/1469) in his history of Egypt, entitled al-Najūm al-Zāhira fī Mulūk Miṣr wa al-Qāhira. The common feature of all these voluminous compilations is the predominance of the biographical matter over the historical narrative. With the possible exception of the period prior to their own time and some matters of predilection these works mostly contain shorter or longer vitae illustrorum virorum, preceded for the sake of completeness by short, hardly sufficient and often biased surveys of political narrative, so that but for the material contained in the biographical records the res-gestae of a given later period of Muslim history could not probably have been reconstructed. The general character of these historical works has been described excellently by R.P.A.Dozy in speaking of the Spanish Arab historians: "Hommes des lettres, ces chroniqueurs enregistrent en outre le décès des ... général de l'époque qu'a travers une sorte de brouillard"¹.

With certain exceptions this characterization is generally good also for the authors of the school of Ibn al-Jawzī, thus specially for a prominent disciple of the famous Baghdad Poly histor al-Dhahabī. His name has ever been famous for his lesser works, some of which are in general use both in the Orient and in the Occident, but his chief

1. Cf. R.P.A.Dozy, Histoire de l' Afrique et de l' Espagne par Ibn Adharī (Leyden, 1949-51), P.19; Joseph de Somogyi, "The Tārīkh al-Islām of al-Dhahabī", The Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (London, 1932), P.817-18.

work, the Tārīkh al-Islām, has never yet been studied nor discussed as a whole, though it fully deserves our attention for its valuable data, which are in many cases nowhere else obtainable.

As a well-known Syrian historian, traditionist (Muḥaddith) biographer, theologian, Islamic lawyer and a prolific writer, though he was not so prolific as Ibn al-Jawzī or Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), al-Dhahabī lived and worked under the Baḥrī Mamlūk rule (648-792 A.H/1250-1390 A.D) in Egypt and Syria. His Tārīkh al-Islām is specially considered as an authority on the Mongol (Īl-Khāns of Persia r. 654-750 A.H/1256 - 1349 A.D) invasion of the Caliphate. Scarcely ever has Islam experienced more tragical times and more hardships than during the Mongol invasion in the course of the 7th/13th century with the despite of the nomads, practitioners of the open-air life, for sedentary occupations, the people of Chingiz Khān Turned against and mercilessly destroyed the towns and works of civilization everywhere. Their disastrous campaign was only facilitated by the decomposition of the political unity of Islam at that time. In Baghdād the 'Abbāsīd caliphate still subsisted, but its splendour was on the wane; to the west of Baghdād in Egypt, Palestine, and a part of Syria, the Ayyūbids (564-648/1169-1250) reigned, and in Asia Minor the Seljuqs of Rūm or Hither Asia), while to the east of Baghdād the Turkish Princes from Khīva had a rather insecure hold on the vast stretch of the Khwārizmian empire from the Ganges to the Tigris and from Tarkistan to the Indian Ocean. This state of affairs was inviting to an enterprising invador of the sort of Chingiz Khān who, in 615/1218, crushed the Khwārizmian empire, while his grand son, Hulāgu Khān (r. 654-663/1256-1265) put an end to the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate in 656/1258.

The western provinces of Islam, including Egypt, were however spared from the devastating fury of the Mongols by the Bahrī Mamlūk Sultān's Victory over Katbogha, Hulāgu's general, at 'Ayn Ṭālūt, Pelestine, in 659/1260, when in 699/1299-701/1301 his grand son Ghazan Maḥmūd (r. 694-703/1295-1304) failed in conquering Syria, Islām was definitely safe from further Mongol attacks¹.

The Mongol period (i.e. Īl-Khānids of Persia and Chagatay Khānids and Timurids of Transoxiana r. 624-904/1256-1500) is generally considered as a curse period for Arabic literature. They destroyed all the unique and valuable books preserved in different libraries of the 'Abbasid empire. They also burnt all the big libraries and chased away the well-known scholars of the conquered lands. Egypt and Syria, on the other hand, remained safe fortunately from their atrocities and that is why these two countries were able to produce a large number of scholars, writers and poets in different field of literature in the period under review and surpassed other Arab countries in Science and learning. The Mamlūk Sultāns of Egypt and Syria in this period were more lenients than the Mongols to the religious and linguistic attitudes of the people. Cairo, Alexandria, Uṣṣūṭ, Fayum, Damascus, Ḥims, Aleppo and Ḥamāh became overcrowded with the libraries, Schools, Colleges, Universities, Mosques and all other architectures during the Mamlūk rule. The scholars and men of letters from different corners of the world migrated to Egypt and Syria and following the predecessors they displayed there a literary movement².

1. Cf. Joseph de Smogyi, "al-Dhahabī's Tārīkh al-Islām as an Authority of the Mongol Invasion of the Caliphate", The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland (London, 1936), PP. 595-6.
2. Cf. Hanṣa al-Fākhūrī, Tārīkh al-Adab al-'Arabī, 9th edn. (Bayrūt: al-Maṭba' al-Būlīsiyya, n.d.), PP. 859-81.

The special features of the poetry of the Mongol period are: the excessive use of the ornamented words with their variety of changes, showing of undesired efficiencies by the poets and composition of the poetical histories, which are more harmful to the meanings. The description of the known things and open speech in satire are manifested, and vulgar words and popular meter entered in poetry of this period. Al-Shabāb al-Zarīf (d. 688/1289), al-Būṣīrī (d. 696/1296), Ibn al-Wardī (d. 749/1348), Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Hillī (d. 750/1349) and Ibn Nubāta (d. 768/1366) were the most important poets of this period. The other less important poets were Shihāb al-Dīn al-Talafarī (d. 675/1276) and Sirāj al-Dīn al-Warrāq (d. 695/1296). As regards to prose literature of the period, the writers who composed secretarial writings, literary epistles and scientific prose were like Muḥyi al-Dīn ‘Abdallāh al-Zāhir and his son Faṭḥ al-Dīn, Tāj al-Dīn b. al-Aḥir, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī, al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418) and Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī. There were also some writers who collected in book form the literature of the contemporary and previous periods like Jamāl al-Dīn al-Waṭwaṭ (d. 718/1318) who compiled Ghurār al-Khaṣāiṣ al-Waḍiḥa and ‘Alā al-Dīn al-Bahā’ī (d. 615/1412) who compiled Maṭālī‘ al-Budūr fī Manāzil al-Surūr. A few encyclopedic works and religious books were also composed in this period. Shihāb al-Dīn al-Nuwayrī (d. 732/1332) composed Nihayat al-Arab in 30 volumes which begin from 732/1332, Ibn Faḍlallāh al-‘Umārī (d. 748/1348) who wrote Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amsār in 20 volumes and al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418) who compiled Ṣubḥ al-Ashā fī Ṣan‘a al-Inshā which consists of a preface and an essay. Besides these works, a large number of books on linguistics and religious sciences were also compiled in the period under review. Ibn Manẓūr (d. 711/1311) wrote Lisān

al-‘Arab on lexicography in 55 volumes, Muḥammad b.‘Abdullah b.Malik (d. 672/1273) wrote al-Ulfiyya, ‘Abdullah b.Hishām (d. 761/1360) wrote Qaṭar al-Nadiyya wa Ball al-Ṣadiyy and Muḥammad al-Sanhajī b.Ajarrum (d. 723/1323) wrote al-Muqaddama al- Ajarrumiyya fī Mabādī ‘Ilm al-‘Arabiyya on Grammar. In this way Ibn Timiyya (d. 728/1328) wrote about five hundred books and brochures including Risalat al-Furqān bayn al-Ḥaqq wa al-Bāṭil and al-Jāmi‘ bayn al-‘Aql wa al-Naql and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 751/1350) wrote Zād al-Ma‘ād, Kitāb al-Qadr, etc. on religious sciences. Ibn Khallikān (d. 633/1282) compiled Wafayāt al-Āyān, a biographical dictionary, Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī (d. 703/1303) composed Fawāt al-Wafayāt, al-Qazwīnī (d. 682/1283) wrote ‘Ajāib al-Makhlūqāt Wa Ḡharāib al-Mawjūdāt in two parts, Abū al-Fidā’ (d. 632/1332) wrote Tuhfat al-Nizār fī Ḡharāib al-Amsār, all are written on geographical, historical and biographical literatures.¹

The contemporary Spain in the West witnessed a renovating movement in the field of literature and sciences. Lisān al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb (d. 776/1374) was the most celebrated Spanish literateur of the period. He was also a poet though in less calibre. He wrote al-Ihāṭa fī Tārīkh Garnata in 3 volumes. He also wrote al-Ḥulal al-Marqūma, etc., on history. He wrote many literary epistles including Rayḥānāt al-Kuttāb wa Najāt al-Muntatāb. He has a Dīwān of poetry though not in high standard. His style of writing is mainly distinguished with his love of metaphorical beauties and excessive use of historical and scientific allusions in rhymed prose, which were not free from obscurity, artificiality and monotony.²

1. Ibid, PP.859-81.

2. Ibid, PP.840-54.

As regards the Mamlūk dynasty it covers the period between 656/1258 and 1215/1800 of the Islamic history. The name Mamlūks refers to the Turkish and Circassian military caste, who were independent rulers of Egypt and its dependency Syria. The year 656/1258, as mentioned before, marks the end of an independent 'Abbasid Caliphate in Baghdad due to Mongol invasion which sacked the Capital and destroyed its political and cultural heritage. One of the poets of this period recorded the state of of the devastated city in the following lines¹:

"The pulpits and the thrones are empty of them,
I bid them, till the hour of death, farewell".

So, thousands of books were destroyed and thrown into the great rivers of 'Irāq by the Mongols. By then the Muslim world was divided into several states, and Arabic literature was greatly weakened in the Eastern part of it, specially in Persia, Anatolia and Northern India². The Bahrī Mamlūks (r. 656-923/1258-1517) were independent and relatively prosperous. During this period Arabic literature was steadily losing its qualities of originality, creativeness, imagination and vitality. During the Burjī Mamlūks (r. 923-1215/1517-1800) the Ottoman Empire started to be expanded, and the historians of literature consider this time as a period of stagnation and decay. Thus Arabic literature was completely stagnant during this period which is known as the age of decadence in Arabic literature and sciences, and the Arabic studies apparently reached their lowest ebb³. The great Arab

1. Cf. R.A.Nicholson, A Literary History of the Arabs(Cambridge: University Press, 1977), P.446.

2. Cf. Dr. Muḥammad Hasan Bākalla, Arabic Culture, thought, its language and literature (London: Kegan Paul International Ltd., 1404/1984), P.180.

3. Ibid, P.180.

Muslim traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was shocked when he arrived in the land of the early Arabic grammarians, Baṣra, in 728/1327 to find that even learned people committed mistakes in Arabic. Here is his account of this experience¹ :

" I was present once at the Friday Prayers in the Mosque, and when the Preacher rose to deliver his sermon, he committed many serious grammatical errors. I was astonished at this and spoke of it to the Qadi, who answered, in this town there is not one left who knows anything about grammar. Here indeed is a warning for man to reflect on- Magnified be He who changes all things and overturns all human affairs. This Baṣra, in whose people the mastery of grammar reached its highest whence it had its origin and where it developed, which was the home of its leader Sibawayh whose pre-eminence is undisputed, his no preacher who can deliver a sermon without breaking its roles".

However, there are exceptions to every rule and the age of the Mamlūks produced a few literary men and authors whom may be considered as a beam of light in this age of darkness in the Muslim world. Al-Busiri was one of the most important poets who lived between 609/1212 and 696/1296. He was, and still is, well-known for his poem, the Qaṣīdat al-Burda (the Mantle Ode) in which he praises the Prophet and he has always been considered as presenting the medieval view of the Prophet.² In geographical literature we also meet at Dimashqī (d.728/1327),

1. Cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Rihlat fi Asia wa Africa (1325-1354 A.D), Translated and selected by H.A.R.Gibb (Travellers in Asia and Africa), with an Introduction and Notes. The Broadway Travellers Series, (London: George Rouledge & Son, Ltd. 1929), P.87.

2. Cf. M.H.Bakalla, Arabic Culture, P.181.

Abū al-Fidā' (d. 732/1331), Ibn Majīd of Najd who lived in the 2nd half of the 9th/15th century and who claimed that it was he who piloted Vasco da Gama from Africa to the Indian Coast, and al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418) wrote an encyclopaedic work which was addressed to writers and Secretaries to show them the technicalities and manners which must be observed in writing. Literary styles and precis writing were among other subjects which were also treated in this invaluable piece of work of the 8th/14th century which is still extant until the present. A number of important historians and biographers emerged during this age. Some of them are al-Dhahabī (d. 784/1347) who wrote Tārīkh al-Islām, the biographer al-Ṣafadī (d. 765/1363), the historian and biographer Ibn Ḥajar (d. 853/1449), al-Sakhāwī (d. 903/1497) who produced a 12 volume biographical work, the 12th volume of which is devoted to women, al-Damīrī (d. 808/1405) who compiled his Zoological Dictionary in the late 8th/14th century which is as much a literary work as it is a work on natural science, al-Maqrīzī (d. 846/1442) wrote his famous topographical work on the description of Egypt, Ibn 'Arabshāh (d. 854/1454) of Damascus wrote his biography of the Taymūr (Timurlong) entitled Marvels of Destiny, Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 874/1469) wrote the Annals of Egypt and al-Maqqārī (d. 1042/1632) wrote his monumental work on the political and literary - history of Muslim Spain.¹

Ibn Tamiyya of Damascus (d. 729 /1328) was one of the great religious thinker of this age. The encyclopadist Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī of Egypt (d. 911/1505) wrote 561 works, about 450 of which are still extant. Although many of these works are short treatises,

1. Ibid, P.182.

a few of them run into several volumes. Amongst his famous works are Itqān on the sciences of the holy Qur'ān, a number of books on Arabic Grammar, an autobiography, a dictionary of grammarians and literarymen, and a book entitled History of the Caliph¹. In Muslim Spain we meet also the politician Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 776/1374). He was one of the last Andalusian poets and writers of folk songs (Muwashshahas) which seem to have died out in Spain by the end of the 8th/14th century².

In north Africa we meet the great Arab historian and sociologist Ibn Khaldūn of Tunis (d. 809/1406). His voluminous work on history is still invaluable to us in modern time. More interesting still is the book which was originally an introduction to his history, and it bears the title the Introduction. Here, Ibn Khaldūn summed up the principle of sociological thought, and the first account over of a philosophic conception of history. One must also mention here the great Muslim traveller, al-wazzān of Fez (d. about 933/1526). He was captured by christian corsairs and taken to Italy where he was converted and named John Leo Africanus. Later he returned to Africa. His work on the history of Africa was translated recently from Italian and French by Professor Ḥamidullah³. Al-Wazzān's book remained the chief reference for European works on Africa until the end of the 12th /18th century.

One of the characteristic features of the Mamlūk age is the interest in popular literature, both popular poetry and popular romances. It is during this period that Alf Layla wa Layla (Thousand and one Nights) was given its final shape. The legends and romance

1. Ibid, P.182.

2. Ibid, PP.182-83.

3. Published at Riyad in 1978.

such as that of Antara and 'Abla were also given a special emphasis. Here the writers of this age were accomplished artists whose works displayed technical skill with which the old themes were varied and revived. Moreover, the literary styles used brilliantly the colloquial idiom and played with words and phrases. Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Hillī (d. 751/1350) of Hilla in 'Irāq was one of the most popular poets. He wrote a special treatise on the Arabian Folk songs. Let us quote here the Arabian Folk songs in the following lines composed by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Hillī¹:

"How can I have patience and thou mine eye's delight,
All the livelong year not one moment in my sight ?
And with what can I rejoice my heart, when thou that
art a joy;

Unto every human heart, from me hast taken flight ?
I swear by Him Who made thy from the envy of the sun
(So graciously He clad thee with lovely beams of light):
As tho's it gleamed on Time's dult browa constellation
bright.

O thou Scorner of my passion, for whose sake I count
as naught;

All the woe that I endure, all the injury and despite,
come regard the ways of God: for never He at life's last gasp,
Suffereth the weight to perish even of mite."

1. Cf. R.A.Nicholson, A Literary History of the Arabs, P.449.

CHAPTER-I

AL-DHAHABĪ'S BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allah Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Uṭhmān b. 'Abd Allah al-Turkumānī al-Fāriqī al-Dimashqī al-Shāfi'ī was an Arab Muslim-Turkish historian, traditionist (Muḥaddith) and theologian. As his surname al-Turkumānī implies, his family was of Turkish descent from the locality of Mayyāfāriqīn. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dḥahabī was born in the early seventies of the 7th A.H/13th A.D. century, that is on 1 or 3 Rabī' II (according to al-Kutubī in Rabī' I) 673/5 or 7 October 1274 either at Damascus or at Mayyāfāriqīn. This was the time when the Mamlūks were strengthening their control over and dominating the territories that were left by the Ayyūbids and were deserted in indiscipline, divided among the provincial ambitious princes and rulers and devoid of order in their internal affairs. During the glorious reign of Nūr al-Dīn al-Zangī, al-Dḥahabī's grand grand father Qaymāz migrated to Damascus which was one of the finest attractions for the knowledge-seekers. He began to dwell there as his homeland. He lived there till his death in 661/1261 at the age of more than one hundred.

Al-Dhahabī's grand father, 'Uthmān (d.683/1284)¹ found Damascus as a prosperous city for his livelihood. So he started living there. Neither knowledge nor the intellectual flourishing which glorified the age of the Ayyūbids charmed him. So, he satisfied himself of carpentry, and therefore, remained illiterate². Al-Dhahabī's father Aḥmad instead of carpentry, began to deal in gold by making the finished products out of it. He attained great efficiency and expertise in this profession. Thus he was called al-Dhahabī (Gold Dealer). At the same time, he developed a keen interest in hearing and searching the ḥadīth (the science of Tradition). So he learned it by heart much. The riches he gained from his profession helped him immensely shine in this academic area. In addition, he freed two Muslim women as well as two boys and girls held captive by the Europeans in 'Akkā during the war of Crusaders. By virtue of his great scholarship in the science of Tradition, he occupied a unique position among the dwellers of Damascus. They showed their best homage to his

1. Cf. al-Dhahabī, Mu'jam al-Shuyūkh, MS.89a; Idem, Siyar Alām al-Nubalā', ed. Salāh al-Dīn al-Munajjid with a forward by Ṭaha Ḥusayn (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1956), vol.i, P.15; Muḥammad Ben Cheneb, "al-Dhahabī", Encyclopadia of Islam, N.E.vol.ii, p.214.

2. Ibid.

departed soul on the day of his sad demise. Even the chief justice of Syria Ibn Jumā'a led his funeral prayer (Janāzah)¹.

When al-Dhahabī was born in the year of 673/1274, his foster brother 'Alā' al-Dīn al-'Aṭṭār hastened to the contemporary professors of Hadīth and sought their permission to celebrate his birth-days ceremony even before the former could move and talk². He was even permitted to narrate the Hadīth narrated by his Professor Muhammad b. Ali al-Sabuni in the year 673 A.H. when al-Dhahabī was born. The permitting scholars were not from Damascus alone, but the Imām of the Mosque al-Ṣakhrāh at Bait al-Muqaddas, Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah permitted him in writing in the second year of his birth³. Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī in his al-Durar enlisted the name of the professors who permitted al-Dhahabī to narrate the Hadīth in his boyhood. As the boy began to grow up, he found his father busy with the gold business as well as absorbed in his meticulous study of the Hadīth till late hours at night. On the other hand his grand father, 'Uthmān devoted himself to utter the Arabic letter "Rā" and thereby was strengthening his tongue⁴. He also saw

1. Cf. Al-Ṣafadī, al-wāfi, MS. vol. 7, P. 86; al-Dhahabī, Mu'jam al-Shuyūkh, M.S.P. 13a.

2. Cf. Ibn Hajar, al-Durar, vol. iii, P. 336.

3. Al-Dhahabī, al-Mu'jam, MS. P. 145a, P. 134b.

4. Ibid, P. 89a.

his aunt Sitt al-Ahl (d. 729/1328)¹ who was his foster mother too, searching the Hadīth and narrating it. Moreover, he found that his maternal uncle, 'Alī (d.736/1335)² was studying the Hadīth and dealing in gold simultaneously as his father did. So, he had no alternatives than to receive education from his boyhood and cultivate it.

The boy al-Dhahabī went to 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Basīs (d. about 690/1291) to be educated himself. He prolonged his stay in the institution of 'Alī for four years. We do not know the exact year of his departure from that institution. But he informed us that when he was nine his teacher read to him eighty two verses of al-Ḥarīrī in a certain year³. Then he went to Maṣūd b. 'Abd Allah (d. 720/1320), the Reciter of the holy Quran (al-Muqrī) and the Imām (who leads the prayers) of the Mosque at Shāghūr, to read the holy Qur'ān with him. He completed the recitation of the holy Qur'ān with him about forty times⁴. While recalling his teacher, he mentioned that he wrote a good hand and he was the most experienced in teaching children. Besides he was so good

1. She was one of the Sheikhs of al-Dhahabī. Cf. al-Dhahabī, Mu'jam al-al-Shuyūkh, MS. P.57a.

2. He was one of the Sheikhs of al-Dhahabī, Ibid, P.96b.

3. Ibid., P.102a

4. Ibid. P.168 b.

in his dealing with the children that he had never beaten any one. But he was not so serious about religious rituals.

The youth al-Dhahabī was inclined to master the principles of the recitation of the holy Qurʾān. So he found what he desired from Ibn Jibrīl of Egypt who temporarily settled at Damascus. Under his instruction al-Dhahabī recited the entire holy Qurʾān following the schools of seven Qārīs (the distinguished Reciters) on which Kitāb al-Taisīr of al-Dānī and Kitāb Hirz al-Amānī of al-Shāṭibī were based. Yet he remained unsatisfied¹. In 691/1291 al-Dhahabī came in contact with Ibrāhīm b.Dāud al-ʿAsqalānī, the Sheikh of the Reciters at Damascus and started reading with him the Kitāb al-Jamʿ al-Kabīr and completed it when he reached to the last stories of it. Moreover, he acquired the knowledge of different aspects of Islamic Jurisprudence (al-Fiqh). Arabic language and other branches of learnings².

At the age of eighteen in 691/1291-692/1292, the youth al-Dhahabī felt much interested in learning the Hadīth³. He did the hearings of countless books on the Hadīth, and was taught by a host of male and female scholars (Sheikhs) with distinction. He continued hearing the Hadīth and reading it, and also cultivated it throughout his life. Even he heard the Hadīth from those persons at whose devotion to religious he was

1. Cf. Al-Husayni, Dhayl Tabaqāt al-Huffāz, P.36

2. Cf. Al-Dhahabī, Mufjam al-Shuyūkh, MS. P.26b.

3. Cf. Al-Suyuti, Dhayl Tabaqāt al-Huffāz, P.348; al Subkī, Tabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyyah, vol.5, P.216.

not satisfied. In his biography on his Sheikh 'Alī b. Muẓaffar al-Iskanranī (d. 716/1316), al-Dhahabī writes, " he was not serious about religious rituals. But yeilded to my burning curiosity. I had to hear from such a man. May Allah pardon him. He was not regular in his prayers due to his involvement in worldly affairs...¹ Even al-Dhahabī heard the Hadīth from common people. He speaks of his Sheikh (Professor) Muḥammad b. al-Nāṣir (d. 715/1315). He was a common Sheikh of less repute from whom I heard". Sometimes his devotion to the Hadīth led him even to the deaf persons. He tells about one of his deaf teachers al-Kharāṭī al-Aṣamm (d.716/1316), " I read out to him into his ears three handithes loudly"...² . These are his great teachers inside Damascus and outside from whom he heard. These are also his female teachers following the theological school of Imām Aḥmad b.Ḥanbal. He took Hadīthes from all of them. The number of his teachers were more than one thousand and two hundred³.

Then al-Dhahabī left Damascus for other cities with a view to hearing the Hadīth or reciting the holy Qur'ān. In case of searching for the Hadīth travelling was an important condition. Because, by travelling , a man could attain the vastness of knowledge of the Hadīth and proficiency in it. On his many journeys he visited the cities of Balaback, Homs(the ancient

1. Cf. Al-Dhahabī, Mu'jam al-Shuyakh, MS. P.103a.

2. Cf. Ibid,P.167a.

3. Cf. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, Tabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyah, M.S. P.85.

Emesa, a city in central Syria), Ḥamāh (a city in West Syria), Aleppo, al-Mā'arraḥ & Tripoli (in Lebanon). He also visited the countries of al-Khalīl (Bibron, a town in Jordanian Palestine), Nablus (a town in West Jordan) and al-Ramlah. Then he travelled to Cairo, Bilbis and Alexandria, and also to the holy cities of Makka and Madīna². Al-Dhahabī's father accompanied him in some of his journeys². But we do not know the details of these journeys. So far we know from the available sources he visited Bālabak in 693/1293³. It was his first visit there. On this visit he completed the recitation of the holy Qur'ān with al-Nuṣaiby⁴ and then he took Ḥadīth⁵es from many scholars. In 707/1307, al-Dhahabī made a second visit to the same Bālabak, and in 695/1295, he visited again the Jordanian Palestine city al-Khalīl (Bebron) and heard from al-Jabari his odes (Qaṣīdah) composed on ten modes of recitation⁵. He travelled to Egypt with his foster brother Dāud b. Ibrāhīm al-ʿAṭṭār. From there the two brothers went to al-Ramlah where each of them heard Ḥadīth from others. But we do

1. Cf. Al-Subkī, Tabaqāt, vol.5, P.216; al-Ṣafadī, al-Wāfī, vol.2, P.165, al-Dhahabī, Mu'jam al-Shuyūkh.

2. His father accompanied him in Bālabak and heard from him Ḥadīth there.

3. Cf. Al-Dhahabī, Mu'jam al-Shuyūkh, MS. P.65a.

4. Cf. Ibn al-Jazarī, Tabaqāt, vol.2, P.71.

5. Cf. Al-Dhahabī, Mu'jam al-Shuyūkh, P.52a and P.29b.

not know the date or year of their visit. Perhaps, he visited Egypt just after his father's death in 699/1299¹. Immediately after his return to Damascus al-Dhahabī, in place of al-Shams al-ʿIrāqī, was appointed the Chairman of the Recital conference held in the University of Damascus near the Tomb of Zakariā².

It was the first mission al-Dhahabī performed at the age of 26 . Very few personalities of tender age like him had been appointed to the prestigious post of the Chairmanship of the Recital conference, at the University of Damascus. This post earned him the esteem of the Scholar of the Hadīth and the Quranic Recitation everywhere, and people began to appreciate him highly for his memory and merit. The scholars of the Hadīth swarmed on to him to be benefited with his lectures. He collected, compiled, abridged and examined their discussions.

Al-Dhahabī was also encircled by a group of learned friends like al-Birzālī (d. 740/1339), Yusuf al-Mizzī (b. 654/1256) and Ibn Taimiyyah (b.661/1262). Al-Dhahabī was the youngest and al-Mizzi was the oldest of them. They used to consult each other what they studied. They were his contemporary teachers. On the one hand they were busy collecting Hadīth

1. Ibid, P.47a, P.13a.

2. Cf. Ibn Hajar, al-Durar, vol.3, P.338.

and on the other they were getting inclined to the views of the Hanbalī school of theology. In the early 8th/14th century when al-Dhahabī was about forty, Ibn Taiyimiyyah was endowed with great strength and power, and it was before Tankiz's taking the responsibility of Damascus in 713/1313. He propagated and conducted his Hanbalī Futwa (formal legal opinion) in 698/1298 and thereby let the scholars dwell upon it minutely¹. He was also gifted with indomitable courage. Even he had the boldness to execute the legal as well as social punishments. He would shave the boys' hair and pass the legal opinions² regarding which he proceeded so far as to exceed the proper bounds of the judges. Moreover, he gained such power that he forced into the prison to free his followers without consulting any judge or his assistant³. Ibn Taiyimiyyah profoundly influenced his three friends. Even al-Subkī opined, "Abū al-'Abbās b. Taimiyyah inflicted severe harms on his three friends al-Mizzi, al-Dhahabī and al-Birzālī, and induced them to perform a great but troublesome task. Not only that he dragged them to an awkward predicament which they should have escaped."⁴

Then al-Dhahabī sketched out a way of life for himself with those verdicts that gained his entire satisfaction. He

1. Ibid, vol.i, P.145

2. Cf. Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidayah wa al-Nihayah, vol.14; Ibn Hajar, al-Durar, vol.i, P.146.

3. Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī, al-'Uqūd al-Durriyyah, P.205. Ibn Taimiyyah had taken out al-Mizzī from the prison by his own hand.

4. Cf. Al-Subkī, Tabaqāt, vol.6, P.254.

made a survey of the opinions of the Hanbalī school of theology and those of Ibn Taimiyyah's friends. Al-Dhahabī seemed to have not only been influenced by Ibn Taimiyyah but also been influenced by those Hanbalī teachers who affected him. If anybody sets down himself to make a thorough study of al-Dhahabī's teachers, he will simply fail because they were too many to be counted. The way of life he adopted is imprinted in his writings and that is why he was severely criticised by his contemporaries and successors¹.

Al-Dhahabī's return from Egypt at the dawn of 8th/14th century marks the age of his tremendous success as a writer. He began to abridge a good number of books on History and finished writing his renowned work on history, Tārīkh al-Islām (The History of Islam). He went on educating the children visiting him. In addition, he was honoured with the charge of lecturing in the Mosque of Kufr Būṭna, after the name of a village in the city of Ghūṭa², Damascus. He stayed there and turned it a centre of the Hadīth where the great personalities like al-Taḳī al-Subkī would assemble either to teach him or be taught. He was gifted with three children: Ummat al-'Azīz, 'Abd Allah (b. 708/1308)³ and 'Abd al-Rahmān (b. 715/1315)⁴. Then after the expiry

1. Cf. Al-Dhahabī, al-'Ulū, MS.; al-Subkī, Mu'īd al-Niyām, P.74.

2. Cf. Kurd 'Alī, Ghūṭa Dimashq.

3. Cf. Ibn Hajar, al-Durār, vol.2, P.286

4. Ibid, vol.2, P.341.

of al-Shuraishī, a teacher of the Madrasah Umm al-Ṣāliḥ in 718/1318, the people did not find anyone else except al-Dhahabī to replace him in his post.¹ Al-Shuraishī was a great scholar and the institution he served was one of the greatest ones². He developed a great fascination for this esteemed institution. That is why he built a dwelling house in its campus and breathed his last there afterwards.

The name and fame of al-Dhahabī's friends gradually increased to the extent of being great personalities of the age in learning, memory and intelligence. Unfortunately, there occurred an unpleasant incident between al-Dhahabī and Ibn Taimiyyah which is worth mentioning. The incident happened after the year 720/1320, when the latter was in his seventies. Ibn Taimiyyah's life was full of anxieties and disturbance. He was repeatedly imprisoned. His formal legal opinions (futwa) acted like hurricanes that revolutionised the ideas of the scholars of Egypt and Syria. He had never shown any leniency and partiality in this respect. He was always serious when he debated, raged and became harsh. Al-Dhahabī was greatly mesmerised by his vastness of knowledge, the faculty of his wit, plainness in dress and food, his adherence to truth and his struggle in every sphere of life possible³.

1. Cf. Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah, vol.14, P.88.

2. Cf. Al-Nuʿaimī, Tanbīh al-Tālib, vol.i, P.316.

3. Cf. Al-Dhahabī, Zaḡhl al-ʿIlm, P.17; Ibn Ḥajar, al-Durar, vol.i, P.151, quoted from al-Dhahabī's al-Muʿjam al-Mukhtaṣṣ.

Al-Dhahabī appreciated him highly in his writings¹ and overstating the flaws of those who spoke ill of him. But he disliked him for his pride, vanity, excessive greed for the leadership of the Sheikhdom, and his abhorrence to his elders². He differed from him in many serious problems concerning the fundamentals of Islām and its subsidiary rules³. Al-Dhahabī tried in vain to rectify him. Sometimes he threatened his enemies to his oral instructions and at other times he rebuked him. Annoyed with his aversion to his oral instructions, al-Dhahabī sent him a lengthy ode entitled "al-Naṣīḥat al-Dhahabiyya" (Golden Admonitions)⁴ containing valuable suggestions. In it al-Dhahabī warned him, blamed him and criticised his followers.

Let us meditate on "al-Naṣīḥat al-Dhahabiyya" for a while. Because it reveals the locus stand of al-Dhahabī among his friends and teachers and qit also depicts the different angles of the personalities of Ibn Taimiyyah himself.

1. Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī, al-Uqūd al-Durriyyah, PP.4,9,23,24, 216,195,433; al-Dhahabī, Mu'jam al-Shuyūkh, M.S.P.8b.

2. Cf. al-Dhahabī, Zaghl al-'Ilm, PP.17-18.

3. Cf. Ibn Hajar, al-Durar, vol.i, P.151.

4. Cf. al-Dhahabī, al-Naṣīḥat al-Dhahabiyyah Ilā Ibn Taiymiyyah, MS. Dār al-Kutub, No.18823b. pub. by Ḥusām al-Qudsī in Tārīkh al-Islām of al-Dhahabī.

Al-Dhahabī asked his Sheikh Ibn Taimiyyah "How long would you see the dust in your brother's eyes forgetting your own restlessness? How long would you praise yourself, your words and sentences and blame the teachers and ~~look~~ for the secrets of people...? Oh, man I by God, keep aloof from us. You are argumentative and a linguist who neither takes rest nor sleeps..We become laughing stocks in this world. How long will you spread out intricate as well as baseless doctrines of philosophy that engages our minds...? The sword of Hajjāj b. Yūsuf and the tongue of Ibn Ḥazam were like two brothers, and you have made friends with them. How long will you adore yourself and oppose the best...? How long will you think high of yourself and belittle others...? How long will you go on appreciating your sayings more than they deserve...? By God, if only you would stop attacking the Bukhārī (a book on Hadīth) and the Muslim (a book on Hadith) I Is it not the high time for you to repent, refrain from your malpractices and bow down your head to Allah while you are in your seventies and about to expire? By Allah I did not think that you remember your death. Rather you mock at those who remember death. I do not think you will accept my suggestions and follow them. I rather think you would be courageous enough to reject my page with voluminous works... Such appears to me your character while I am your friend beloved and sincere. Then how degraded does your character appear to your enemies...? Note that among your enemies there are God fearing, intelligent and learned men whereas among your friends there are sinners, liars and ignorant people...

I am pleased with you for rebuking me publicly and getting benefited with my sayings silently. I have many blemishes and am addicted to vices¹.

Thus al-Dhahabī treated Ibn Taimiyyah like a sincere friend and an admonisher on the one hand, and opposed him boldly on the other. But this stand of al-Dhahabī neither pleased Ibn Taimiyyah's admirers nor his opponents. Al-Dhahabī said, "He who associates and is acquainted with him accuses me of exaggerating his blemishes and similarly one who opposes him accuses me of belittling him. Thus I have been tortured by both groups -- his friends and foes"².

We do not know what Ibn Taimiyyah told in reply to the admonitory letter of al-Dhahabī as nothing is found regarding it in the sources of information.

On Ibn Taimiyyah's death in 728/1327. Al-Dhahabī succeeded him to the Sheikhdom of the Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Sukkariyyah (The centre of the Ḥadīth at Sukkariyyah)³, and became a towering personality of the age who had been naturally appointed to the post of a scholar whenever he died. In 729/1328, he succeeded Ibn Jahbal to the Sheikhdom of the Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Ẓāhiriyyah and left his lectureship at the Mosque at Kufr Baṭnā⁴. In 739/1338, he also succeeded his friend al-Birzālī (d. 739/1338) to the Sheikhdom of al-Nafīsiyyah and its Imāmah (leadership)⁵. He

1. Ibid, pp.32-34

2. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, al-Durar, vol. i, P.151.

3. Cf. al-Naʿaymī, Tanbīh al-Talib, vol. i, P.77.

4. Ibid, P.358.

5. Cf. al-Safadī, al-wāfī, vol. ii, P.166.

was also entrusted with the teaching at al-Tankiziyyah¹ and al-Fādiliyyah². When his third friend al-Muzzī died in 742/1341, the Sheikhdom of the Dār al Ḥadīth al-Ashrafiyyah lay vacant. Then the chief justice al-Subkī intended to appoint al-Dhahabī to that post. But the scholars commented that al-Dhahabī was not a follower of the school of Ash'arite Theology. Al-Mizzī had never been appointed to the post till he wrote a letter and swore that he was an Ash'arī. In this regard controversy spread out on large scale. Then the Vice-Governor sent for the Scholars and consulted them in this issue. Al-Subkī gave his opinion in favour of al-Dhahabī. But the other Scholars did not agree with him. The controversy continued upto the appointment of al-Subkī himself to the said post.³

Thus, inspite of his being the Sheikhs al-Muḥaddithīn (the leader of all professors of Ḥadīth), al-Dhahabī lost the most prestigious Sheikhdom of Dār al-Ḥadīth at Damascus because of his inclination to the theological school of Ḥanbalī and his previous relationship with Ibn Taimiyyah. At that time he was about seventy years old. But he had not yet lost his working energy and, therefore, continued propagating his opinions⁴. In the meantime his name and fame reached every where. His dignity increased and soared to a greater extent. The knowledge-seeking

1. Cf. Ibn-Ḥajar, al-Durar, vol.iii, P.527.

2. Cf. Al-Nu'aymī, Tanbih al-Talib, vol.i, P.94.

3. Cf. al-Subkī, Tabaqāt, vol.vi, pp.17-71.

4. We have seen him in 742/1341 that he presents the assembly of Dār al-Sā'adah, the abode of Nawāb al-Sultān and encourages to the killing of al-Zanadiqa. Cf. Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāya, vol.14, p.190.

students used to travel to him groups from different parts of the world to quench their thirst for knowledge. From all directions questions were put to him for getting appropriate answers. Finally, he became immortal as "a renowned author of the History of Islām (Tārīkh al-Islām) as well as the Muḥaddith of the age." Then at that old age he did not exhausted and he did not lead a retired life either. But he lost his eyesight gradually till he became blind during his last years of his life. He died in his Madrasah Umm al-Ṣāliḥ in 748/1347 at the age of seventy five, and was buried in the graveyard of al-Bāb al-Ṣaghīr¹. In Aleppo his funeral prayer was offered in absentia².

Al-Dhahabī's intellectual life can be discussed in these ways - the mode of the recitation of the holy Qur'ān, the narration and compilation of the Ḥadīth and his historical writings. Hence we should discuss him as a recitor, a muḥaddith (Professor of Ḥadīth) and a historian. In the field of the modes of recitation of the holy Qur'ān we find his utmost endeavour in his safeguarding the integrity of the holy Qur'ān. He integrated it in Damascus, Bālabak, al-Khalīl and Alexandria till he was named al-Ustādh al-Thiqa al-Kabīr³ (The Great Reliable Teacher). But we observe that under his supervision, only one student named Ahmad al-Tuhhan⁴ had graduated in this field. Because he left

1. Al-Subkī describes his death in al-Tabaq āt.

2. Cf. Ibn al-Wardī, Fī Tadhīl Tārīkh Abī al Fidā', vol. iv, P. 150

3. Cf. Ibn al-Jazarī, Tabaq āt, vol. ii, P. 71

4. He was the Sheikh of Ibn al-Jazarī, Ibid.

practising it earlier and concentrated himself on the study of the Ḥadīth and History. So al-Dhahabī's contribution to this branch of knowledge is minor. He wrote only Ṭabaqāt al-Qurra (The stages of the Recitors). But Ibn al-Jazarī acknowledged his contribution to this branch of knowledge. Al-Dhahabī also wrote in this field. Mukhtaṣar fī al-Qarāʾat (a short treatise on the modes of recitation). Of all the branches of learning al-Dhahabī studied, he gave the least attention to it. So his contributions to it are very poor.

Al-Dhahabī made his best contributions to the field of the Ḥadīth and its science, and most of his works were compared to this field. We find his success in this area, his keen interest in hearing the Ḥadīth and his eagerness to follow the scholars in taking Ḥadīth from them. He surpassed the other professors of Ḥadīth (Muḥaddith) as he freed them from their intellectual barrenness. He had profound intellectual insight and a good understanding of the sayings of people of all walks of life¹. These qualities helped him perform his task. So he scrutinised the ḥadīth, modified and corrected it, and explained, reviewed the narrators of the Ḥadīth and preserved the history of their lives. His works on the science of Ḥadīth literature are innumerable. He started with the abridgement of different volumes of Ḥadīth. His compilations which earned him name and fame, as we believe, are those works that deal with the biographies of the narrators of the Ḥadīth and the preservation of their names. As we have already

1. Cf. Al-Ṣafadī, al-Wāfi, Vol. ii, P. 163.

mentioned that in 690/1291 he at the age of 18 began his studies in ḥadīth in Damascus under the direction of 'Umar b. Qawwās, Aḥmad b. Hibat Allah b. 'Asākīr and Yūsuf b. Aḥmad al-Qāmūlī. He continued his ḥadīth studies in several Islamic centres under the best authorities of his time. Thus he studied in Ba'alabakk with 'Abd al-Khāliq b. 'Ulwān, Zaynab bint 'Umar b. al-Kindī and others; in Egypt with al-Abarquahī, 'Isā b. 'Abd al-Mumīn b. Shihāb, the ḥāfiẓ Abū Muḥammad al-Dīnyāṭī and Abū al-'Abbās al-Zāhirī, and chiefly with Ibn Daqīq al-'Īd; in Makka with al-Turzarī; in Ḥalab with Sawqar al-Zayāl; in Nabulus with al-'Imād b. Badrān; in Alexandria with Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-'Irāqī, and Abū al-Ḥasan Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad al-Ṣawwāf, and lastly in Cairo where he stayed longest with Ibn Manṣūr al-Ifriqī.¹

Al-Dhahabī also studied fiqh (Islamic Jurisprudence or cannon of Law) with no less authorities than Kamāl al-Dīn b. al-Zamlikanī, Burhān al-Dīn al-Fazarī and Kamāl al-Dīn b. Qādī Shuhba. He was an adherent of the Shāfi'ī School of Theology. He received Ijāza from Abū Zakariyya b. al-Ṣayrafī, Ibn 'Alī al-Khayr, al-Qāsim al-Irbilī, and others². The number of his teachers is said to have surpassed the thirteen hundred, the biographies of whom he collected in his Muḥjam al-Shuyūkh³. So al-Dhahabī had the reputation of a scholar of the first rank in history, ḥadīth and fiqh (cannon of Law). In fiqh he belonged to the madhhab of al-Shāfi'ī. He had

1. Joseph De Somogyi, "The Tārīkh al-Islām of al-Dhahabī", The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (October, 1932), pp. 819-822.

2. Cf. Ibn Qādī Shuhba, Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya, Br. Mus. Suppl. No. 644, fol. 247'47b.

3. AMS of the book is in Cairo, see Cat., vol. i, 2nd ed., p. 252.

an indefatigable energy; having been at his studies day and night, even when he was struck by blindness which befell him, according to Abū al-Fidā' and 'Umar b. al-Wardī, in 743/1342-3, or, according to others, as early as 741/1340-1. He had a great many excellent pupils, among whom his chief biographer is to be specially mentioned, 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Subkī, author of the Tabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya al-Kubrā. Al-Dhahabī was an intimate friend of latter's father, Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī, who was considered stronger than he in Shāfi'ite law as Taqī al-Dīn was the famous Shāfi'ite doctor of law¹.

1. Cf. "al-Dhahabī", Encyclopadia of Islām, (Laiden: E.J.Brill, 1965) vol.ii, PP. 214-15.

CHAPTER-II
AL-DHAHABĪ'S CONTEMPORARIES

We have already seen that Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī lived and worked between the later half of the 7th A.H/13th A.D. and early half of the 8th A.H/14th A.D. Centuries under the Bahrī¹ Mamlūk rules (648 - 792/1250-1390) in Egypt and Syria. This was the time which was considered as the period of invasion of the Caliphate by the Mongol Īl-Khāns of Persia (r. 654 -750/1256-1349). Scarcely ever has Islām experienced more tragical times and more hardships than during the Mongol invasion in the course of the 7th /13th century with the despite of the nomads practitioners of the open-air life, for sedentary occupations, the people of Chengiz Khān turned against and mercilessly destroyed the towns and works of civilization everywhere. Their disastrous campaign was only facilitated by the decomposition of the political unit of Islām at that time. In Baghdād the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate still subsisted, but its splendour was on the wane. To the west of Baghdād in Egypt, Palestine, and a part of Syria, the Ayyūbids reigned (564-648/1169-1250), and in Asia Minor the Saljūqs (of Rume or Hither Asia), while to the east of Baghdād the Turkish princes from Khīva had a rather insecure hold on the vast stretch of the Khwārizmian empire from the Ganges to the Tigriz and from Turkestan to the Indian Ocean. This state of affairs was inviting to an interprising invader of the sort of Chengiz Khān who in 615/1218 crushed the Khwārizmian empire, while his grand son Hulāghu Khān (654-663/1256-1265) put an end to the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate in 656/1258. The western provinces

1. Cf. Mrs. Sultāna Razia Khānam, The Literary contribution of some important Historians contemporary to Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, (Type copy of the M.Phil Thesis in Aligarh Muslim University Library, 1986 which is now accepted for publication by the Islamic Foundation, Dhaka, Bangladesh). PP.79-82.

of Islām including Egypt were however spared from the devastating fury of the Mongols by the Bahrī Mamlūk Sultān's victory over Katbogha, Hulāghū's general, at 'Ayn Tālūt, Palestine in 659/1260, when, in 699-701/1299-1301 his grand son Ghazan Maḥmūd (694-703/1295-1304) failed in conquering Syria, Islām was definitely safe from further Mongol attacks¹.

The Mongol period of the Il-khāns of Persia, and Chagatary Khānids and Timurids of Transoxiana (624-906/1256-1500) are generally considered as a curse period for Arabic literature and learnings. They destroyed all the unique and valuable books preserved in different libraries of the 'Abbāsīd empire. They also burnt all the big libraries and chased away the well-known scholars of the conquered lands. Egypt and Syria, on the other hand remained safe fortunately from their atrocities and that is why these two countries were able to produce a large number of scholars, writers and poets in different field of literature in this period and surpassed other Arab countries in Science and Technology. The Mamlūk Sultāns of Egypt and Syria in this period were more lenients than the Mongols to the religious and linguistic attitudes of the people. Cairo, Alexandria, Usyūt, Fayum, Damascus, Ḥimṣ, Aleppo and Ḥamāh became over crowded with the libraries, schools, colleges, universities, mosques and all other architectures during the Mamlūk period. The scholars and men of letters from different corners of the world migrated to Egypt and Syria, and following the predecessors they displayed there

1. Cf. Joseph De Somogy "al-Dhababī's Tārīkh al-Islāmas an Authority of the Mongol Invasion of the Caliphate", The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (1936), PP.596-6.

a literary movement in the period under review¹. The contemporary Spain in the west witnessed a renovating stage in the field of literature and sciences. Lisān al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb (d.776/1374) the politician was the most celebrated Spanish literatur^e of the period. He wrote al-Ihāta fī Tārīkh Garnatā in 3 volumes. He also wrote al-Hulal al-Marqūma, etc. on history. He wrote many literary epistles including Rayhānāt al-Kuttāb wa Najāt al-Muntatab. He was also a poet though in less calibre having a Dīwān of poetry which is not of high calibre. His style of writing is mainly distinguished with his love of metaphorical beauties and excessive use of historical and scientific allusions in rhymed prose, which were not free from obscurity, artificiality and monotony². Ibn al-Khaṭīb was one of the last Spanish poets and writers of folk songs (Muashshahāt)³. In North Africa we meet the great Arab historian and Sociologist Ibn Khaldūn of Tūnis (d. 809/1406). His Kitāb al-'Ibar on history consisting 14 volumes is still invaluable to us in modern time. More interesting still is the book which was originally an introduction to his history, and it bears the title al-Muqaddima (The Introduction). Here Ibn Khaldūn summed up the principle of sociological thought, and the first account over of a philosophic conception of history. Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī of 'Irāq (d. 751/1350), was one of the most popular poets of al-Dhahabī's age⁴. This was the age when Arabic literature has been steadily losing its qualities of originality, creativeness, imagination and vitality and at last has

1. Cf. Ḥannā al-Fākhūzī, Tārīkh al-Adab al-'Arabī, 9th edn.(Bayrut: al-Būlisiyya Press, n.d.), PP. 859-81.

2. Ibid, PP. 840-54.

3. Cf. M.H. Bakalla, Arabic Culture, P.182.

4. Ibid, PP.182-3.

completely been stagnant, with some exceptional Arabic literary contributions produced by a few historians, literary men and authors who may be considered as a beam of light in this age of darkness in the Muslim World¹. Now I like to give a brief account of the life and works of some important historians contemporary to al-Dhahabī in the following:

Ibn Tabā Tabā: Jalāl al-Dīn (Ṣafī al-Dīn) Abū Jāfar Muḥammad b. Tāj al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ramaḍān b. Ṭabāṭabā called Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā² (d. 709/1309) was born at al-Mawṣil of ‘Irāq in the locality of al-Ḥilla in 660/1262 four years after the conquest of Baghdād by Hulāgu Khān of the Mongols, which he did not mention as having witnessed personally. He was an ‘Irāqī historian and critic. As a Sharīf he was the descendant of al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī through Ibrāhīm al-Ṭabāṭabā. His grand father Ramaḍān earlier settled at al-Ḥillah, the Shīite Shrine cities where and perhaps also at Baghdād his family supplied the leading spokesmen and superintendents (nuqabā) for the Alid cause. His father Tāj al-Dīn ‘Alī was a tax collector in ‘Irāq and the chief Naqīb of the Alids, where he gained a great wealth and influence, and finally had been assassinated in 680/1281 at the instigation of Abagha Khān (663-680/1265-1280), the Mongol's ministers ‘Alā al-Dīn ‘Alā Malik al-Jawaynī and brother Shams al-Dīn. Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā also gained the office of Naqīb of the Shiites at al-Ḥillah, al-Najaf and Karbala, probably with

1. Cf. Ed. "Arabiyya" Encyclopadia of Islām (Leyden: E.J.Brill, 1965), vol.i, PP.593-5.

2. The word Ṭiqṭaqā apparently derives from the Persian "Tiktak" means, the noise made by the feet in running; also by the teeth in masticating; a noise in general. But the word is generally applied to a speech which bears the quickness and abundance of words, i.e. rapid speaker. Cf. al-Zabidi, Tāj al-‘Arūs, vol.vi, P.424.

more regionally limited authority. He married a woman from Khurāsān, and visited Marāghā in 697/1297. He was apparently back in Baghdād at the time of Ghazan Khān's visit to the city in 698/1298 where we find him in relations with this Mongol Sultān and effective ruler. He travelled widely in ʿIrāq and Adharbayjan. On a winter journey to Tabriz, three years later of Ghazan Khan's visit to Baghdad, Ibn al-Tiqṭaqa was detained in al-Mawṣil by the unusually bitter weather during late winter and spring of 701/1301-2 and wrote his history of al-Fakhrī fī Adab al-Sultāniyya wa al-Duwal al-Islāmiyya¹ (al-Fakhrī on the systems of Government and the Muslim dynasties) under the patronage of Ghazan Khān's governor of al-Mawṣil, Malik Fakhr al-Dīn ʿIsā b. Ibrāhīm. And hence the book was named after him. Ibn al-Tiqṭaqa supported the Mongols as being less anti-Alids than the ʿAbbāsids. He died either in 702/1202 or in 709/1309².

Ibn al-Tiqṭaqa's skillful choice of his largely anecdotal material, his reflective rather than factual approach to history, and the obvious love for his subject of an urbane and literate personality combine to make the Fakhrī enjoyable and instructive reading to a degree uncommon in medieval scholarly historiography³. It might be contended that Kitāb al-Fakhrī has enjoyed a popularity rather greater than it deserves. Yet, familiar and well-scanned as the book has been, its two major claims to importance, in our opinion, have never given sufficient independent attention - a considerable amount

1. Edited by H. Derenbourg (Paris, 1895) and by 'Amar (Paris 1910).

2. Shaykho in his Majānī al-Adab, vol. vii, P. 12 said that Ibn al-Tiqṭaqa died in 709/1309 and al-Ziriklī in his al-Ālām, vol. ii, P. 174 said that he died in 702/1302. But both the writers did not mention their sources of information.

3. Cf. F. Rosenthal, A History of Muslim Historiography (Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1952), pp. 50-51.

of first hand and even eye-witness information it contains, and to its treatment of the fall of Baghdād in 656/1258. These two facts are elaborately discussed by James Kritzeck¹. The first part of al-Fakhrī "al-Faṣl fi al-Umūr al-Sultāniyyah wa al-Siyasata al-Malakiyyah", is in the nature of a "mirror for princes". The second part, "al-Faṣl fī al-Kalām 'alā Dawlatayn Dawlatayn" is an exceptionally well ordered history book, covering precisely the period of the caliphate from the election of Abū Bakr in 11/632 to the execution of al-Musta'ṣim in 656/1258². Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqa was very explicit about the intended functions of each of the two parts, as well as about the historical method he had adopted. He imposed two rules upon himself. One of them is that he inclined only towards the truth, that he spoke only justly, that he avoided being ruled by passion, and that he abstracted himself from the influence of environment and education, and regarded himself as a stranger to them and as an alien amongst them. The Second of them is that he expressed his idea by means of clear expressions which communicate to the intellects of his readers, avoiding those difficult expressions which oratorical display and rhetorical demonstration occasion, so that everyone might use them³. The historical facts of al-Fakhrī is derived from lost works of al-Masūdi, from chronicles of Muḥammad

1. Cf. P.K.Hitti, History of the Arabs, 6th edn. (London, 1959) note 2; James Kritzeck, "Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqa and the Fall of Baghdād" The world of Islam: Studies in honour of P.K.Hitti, ed. J. Kritzeck and R.B. Winder (London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1960), pp. 159-84.

2. Ibid., P.163.

3. Cf. Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqa, al-Fakhrī, ed. Derenbourg, P.16.

b. Yaḥyā al-Ṣūlī (d. 335/946) and Hilal b.al-Muḥassin al-Ṣābī (d. 448/1056), above all from the al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh of Ibn al-Athīr. The Fakhrī is a very distinguished book. It is well and simply written, sufficiently critical and anecdotic, moderate practical minded, agreeable to read. It is also remarkably impartial inspite of the author's Shīʿa convictions¹.

Abū al-Fidā: Abū al-Fidā Ismāʿīl b.al-Afdal ʿAlī (or Muḥaffar ʿAlī) b. al-Muḥaffar Maḥmūd b.al-Manṣūr Muḥammad b.al-Muḥaffar Taqī al-Dīn ʿUmar b. Nūr al-Dīn Shahanshāh b.Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, al-Malik al-Muʾayyad Ṣāhib Ḥamāh ʿImād al-Dīn was a Syrian prince, well-known historian renowned geographer, of the family of the Ayyubids². He was born in Damascus in 672/1273. He belongs to the family of the princes of Ḥamāh on the river Orontes (Nahr al-Asia), a branch of the Ayyūbid royal family created by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. His family had been obliged to take refuge in Damascus from the Mongols. He received an elaborate education inspite of his being involved in all kinds of military campaigns throughout his youth. At the age of 12, in the company of his father al-Afdal ʿAlī and his cousin al-Muḥaffar Maḥmūd II, Prince of Ḥamāh, he was present at the seize and capture of the fortress al-Marqab (Margat) from the knights of St.John in

1. Cf. George Sarton, Introduction to the History of Science (Baltimore: The Williams & Wilkins Company, 1947), vol.iii, Part I, P.967; Mrs. S.R.Khanam, M.Phil Thesis, PP.26-61.

2. The Ayyubids had given place to the Rasūlids (626-858/1229-1454) in Arabia as early as 625/1228. But at Ḥamāh a branch of the family Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn continued to rule with slight intermission until 742/1342, and numbered in their line the well-known historian Abū al-Fidā. Cf. Lane-Pool, Muḥammadan Dynasty (Delhi: Idārat-i-Adabiyyāt, 1977), PP.74-77.

684/1285, when Bahrī Mamlūk Sultān al-Malik al-Manṣūr Sayf al-Dīn al-Qalāūn (678-89/1279-90) appeared before this fortress and conquered it¹. Abū al-Fidā was then on his first campaign with his father. He took part also in the later campaigns against the crusaders. On the suppression of the Ayyūbid principality of Ḥamāh in 698/1299, he remained in the service of its Mamlūk governors. He was one of the Amirs of Damascus and remained ingratiating himself with the Mamlūk Sultān al-Malik al-Nāṣir Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Qalāūn who promised the former to be appointed as the governor of Ḥamāh during latter's stay at Karak. Earlier Abū al-Fidā tried several vain attempts to obtain the government of Ḥamāh. He entered the service of the Mamlūk Sultān al-Nāṣir in 698/1299 who finally appointed him as the governor of Ḥamāh in 710/1310 at the instance of the Kings of the Arabs", Ḥusām al-Dīn Muhanna, Shaykh of Āl Faḍl². From that time onward he continued to rule his hereditary principality, but as a fief of the Mamlūk empire. In 712/1312 his government was converted to a life principality in loyalty to his liege lord with the rank of a prince and the title of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ. But two years later he, with the other governors, was made directly subordinate to the governor of Damascus, al-Amīr Sayf al-Dīn Tankez Arghūn al-Nāib with whom his relations were for a time strained. In the following

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1. Marqab is a fortress near Baniyas on the coast of Syria. It was built by the Muslims in 454/1062. Franks and Armenians were settled there in the latter, Cf. E. Honigmann, "Markab", Encyclopadia of Islām, vol.iii, PP. 394-6; Ibn Taghri Bardī, al-Nujūm al-Zāhira, vol. vii, PP. 315-9.
 2. Cf. Ibn Taghrī Bardī, al-Nujūm al-Zāhira (Cairo: Kustatumas & Co. 1383/1963), Vol. ix, P.16.

years he strengthened his position by levish patronage and generosity specially on the occasion of his visits to Egypt. In 719/1319 he accompanied the Sulṭān al-Nāṣir Muḥammad on pilgrimage to Makka, and on their return to Cairo he was publicly invested with the insignia of Sulṭanate and the title of al-Malik al-Muayyad in 720/1320, and given precedence over all governors in Syria. He continued to enjoy the great reputation which he had acquired as patron and man of letters, as well as the friendship of the Sulṭān until his death. He died at Ḥamāh on 23 Muh., 732/ 27 Oct., 1331. He was buried in the mausoleum he had built there for himself. That mausoleum had gradually fallen into ruins, but in or after 1344/1925 it was restored. With the support of Tankiz, Abū al-Fidā's son al-Afdal Muḥammad (733-42/1332-41) was nominated as his successor, and was also granted the insignia of the Sulṭanate¹.

Abū al-Fidā's life was a long series of military campaigns and travels. He accomplished the great pilgrimage at least thrice, and was often obliged to report to Cairo. In spite of these many activities and responsibilities, he was able to write considerably and he devoted much of his time to the embellishment of his capital and the patronage of learned men who gathered at his court. He was learned in many fields. He memorized the holy Qur'ān and a number of religious books. He earned reputation in Islamic jurisprudence

1. Cf. Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, Fawat al-Wafayat, ed., Muhammad Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (Cairo: al-Sāda Press, 1915), vol. i, pp. 28-32, 174-80; Mrs. S. R. Khanam, unpublished M. Phil thesis, pp. 62-78.

(fiqh), principles of jurisprudence (Uṣūl al-fiqh), Arabic language and literature, History, Medicine, commentary of the holy Qurʾān (Tafsīr), Miqāt al-Hajj (the place where the pilgrims assemble, whence they proceed to perform the solemnities at Makka, Logic and philosophy having firm belief in Allah. He was more experienced in Astronomy in comparison to other branches of natural sciences. The summaries of his astronomy are contained in his Taqwīm al-Buldān where the indications of latitudes and longitudes are given in Arabic letters and not in numbers. As he was learned in many fields, he had a good knowledge of Botany and materia medica. He wrote Kunnash in many volumes on medicine. He also wrote kitāb al-Mawāzīn in his early age on grammar. He was adorned with all the beauties of characters. He wrote the Mukhtaṣar Tārīkh al-Bashar in 715/1315 which was continued by the author himself to 730/1329 during the 3rd time Sultānate of al-Malik al-Nāṣir. It is a universal history dealing with the pre-Islāmic period and Islamic history down to 730/1329. He composed many poems and specially al-Muwashshahāt. Of various other other writings on religions and literary subjects all most all have perished. His reputation rests on two works namely Mukhtaṣar and Taqwīm which survive to us¹. He was an amateur historian, according to F.Rosenthal, the figure of which is not found frequently in Islam. Al-Dhahabī made a considerable selections from it².

1. Cf. Mrs. S.R. Khānam, unpublished M.Phil thesis, PP.68-77

2. Cf. Franz Rosenthal, A History of Muslim Historiography (Leyden: E.J. Brill, 1968), PP.56, 492.

Al-Şafadī: Şalāḥ al-Dīn Abū al-Şafā Khālīl b. Ayback al-Şafadī al-Şāfiī, a Palestinian man of letters and historian was born in 696-7/1296-7 at his native town of Şafad¹. According to Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1448), Şafadī was born about the year 694/1294. Şafadī was of Turkish descent and according to his own statement, his father did not give him a good education and it was only when he was 20 years of age that he began the pursuit of studies. He wrote a very nice hand and became an excellent calligrapher as is proved by several autographs which have come down to us. He attended the lectures of the very best teachers of his time, among whom are named the grammarian Abū Ḥayyān and the poets Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd, Ibn Sayed al-Nās and Ibn Būbata. Later he became an important friend of the renowned authors Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī and Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī. His first post was that of secretary in his native town of Şafad, then at Cairo and later he was secretary at Aleppo, al-Rahba (on the Euphrates modern al-Miyadin) and finally he was in charge of the treasury at Damascus². He was a pleasant man but towards the end of his life became deaf. He died at Damascus on the 10th of Şhawwāl 764/1362-3.

Al-Şafadī was a most prolific author and stated himself in his autobiography that his compositions would fill 500 volumes

1. Şafad is one of the places where the Crusaders built fortresses to defend the strip of coast conquered by them against the amirs of Damascus and later against the Ayyubids. Cf. S.R. Khānam, unpublished M.Phil thesis, PP.86-89.

2. Cf. F.Krenkow, "Şafadi", Encyclopadia of Islām, vol.iv, PP.52-4; al-Subkī, Tabaqāt al-Şāfiyya, vol.vi, PP. 94-103.

and that the amount he had written as secretary would come to at least double that quantity. His biographers content themselves with mentioning only the most important of his works, many of them being nearly worthless compilations of verse and prose from modern authors. Besides a prodigious quantity verse in his own anthologies and works of contemporary and later authors, the following works have come down to us either complete or in part. All 33 of his books are practically compilations, poetical and rhetorical exercises etc. from earlier authors, which he very frequently states faithfully:¹

1. Al-wāfī bi al-Wafayāt (the complete book of Necralogies): It is an enormous biographical dictionary in about 30 volumes of which some are found in many libraries, though we doubt whether the complete work has been preserved. Some volumes are numbered, but volumes with the same contents have at times different numbers, from which it appears that the material of the work was divided into volumes of varying size by different scribes. The book al-wāfī is the largest biographical collection in the Arabic language and in Islam. It included many thousands of biographies of people of all kinds and classes. The work is preserved practically complete, except for two gaps and the preserved parts contain over 14,000 biographies.² Al- Şafadī's purpose was not to continue the

1. Ibid, vol.iv, PP.52-4; G.Sarton, Introduction to the History of Science, vol.iii, Part-i, PP. 959-61.

2. Cf. S.R.Khanam, unpublished M.Phil thesis, PP.90-8; one volume of the wāfī is edited by Ritter and published in Istanbul in 1931 and 2 volumes of the same book are edited by Dedreng and published in Istanbul in 1949 and in Damascus in 1953 respectively.

Wafayāt al-Āyān of Ibn Khallikān, as was done by others, but rather to put together and complete all the biographies available in Arabic literature, most of which were restricted to special classes (Tabaqāt) and to constitute what would be called today a "National Biography of Islam". Like our national biographies it is comprehensive enough to include a number of strangers including non-Muslims who lived in Islamic countries and shared their activities. The arrangement of the book is alphabetical with the following curious exceptions: the first biography is a very elaborate one of the Prophet Muḥammad ; then follow all the men who themselves and whose fathers were called after the Prophet, i.e. all the men named Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (no less than 201), next comes the other Muḥammad, in the alphabetic order of their fathers' first names.¹ Al- Ṣafadī was not simply a compiler but a methodical historian who took considerable pains to insure the accuracy of his notices. The introduction to the Wafi is devoted to the explanation of a number of historical difficulties².

2. Āyān al-ʿAṣr wa Āwān al-Naṣr: It is an extract from the Wāfi in six volumes, containing biographies of his contemporaries, like a "Who's who". It is quoted in the printed edition (Cairo, 1305/1887) of the Tabaqāt al-Khirqā al-Ṣūfiya of ʿAbd al-Raḥim al-Wāsiṭe under the title of Tarājim Āyān al-ʿAṣr.
3. Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār: It is on geography, a MS. of which is in the Sadiqiya Library in Tunis.

1. Cf. G. Sarton, Introduction to the History of Science, vol. iii, Part-i, P. 960.

2. Ibid, P. 308.

4. Tārikh al-Wāfi: It is probably an another extract from the Wāfi, which is also in MS. in the Sadiqiya Library.
5. Tuhfat Dhawī al-Albāb: It is an urjuza on the rulers of Egypt to his own time, abbreviated from a work of Ibn Asakir.
6. Nukat al-Himan fī al-Nukat al-Umyān: It is written on the biographies of celebrated blind persons. This work has recently appeared in print in Egypt in a very careful edition based upon 4 MSS.
7. Kitāb al-Shu'ūr fī al-Ur : It is written on the biographies of persons who had lost one eye.
8. Alhān al-Sawājī min al-Nadī wa al-Rajī: It is containing letters addressed by him and to him, giving in many cases the dates. The first letter in MS. (Brit, Mus. Or.1203) is dated 745 A.H.
9. Al-Munshāāt : It is a collection of his own epistles.
10. Al-Tadhkirat al-Ṣalaḥiya : It is a collection of extract from another works with commentaries interspersed with his own compositions. It is difficult to ascertain of how many volumes the work consisted. The good old MS. (India office, Arab 3799) contains 48/49 volumes. Each volume commenced with the exposition of some verses of the holy Quran, then was followed by extracts of the most varying character.
11. Dīwān al-Fuṣaḥā' wa Tarjuma al-Bulaghā': It is an anthology composed for Malik al-Ashraf.

12. Lawat al-Shākī wa Damat al-Bākī: It is the life sketch of a paederast with poems to the boy he loved. This worthless composition has been printed repeatedly in Tunis and Cairo. The book is appreciated in many countries of Islam. It is a tale of male homosexuality in prose and verse.
 13. Al-Husn al-Ṣaḥḥ fi Mi'at Malīh : It is another worthless anthology which contains a hundred poetical quotations by contemporary poets and the author himself upon pretty youths.
 14. Kashf al-Hāl fī waṣf al-khāl : It is another small collection of poems containing words treating in a literary manner which have different meanings if vocalised differently. It deals with an abundance of puns and allusions. It is a part of physiognomy. Moles were given different symptomatic or prophetic significance according to their situation on this or that organ, on the right, or the left.
 15. Ladhdhat al-Sam' fī Ṣifat al-Dam': It is a similar collection of verses of the author and contemporaries on tears in 37 chapters.
 16. Al-Rawḍ al-Nasīm wa al-Thaḡhr al-Bāsim: It is a similar collection of erotic extracts.
 17. Kashf al-Tanbīh 'Alā al-Waṣf wa al-Taṣbīh: It is an anthology of metaphorical verses.
 18. Raṣhf al-Zulal fī Waṣf al-Hilal: It is an anthology of verses on the New Moon.
 19. Raṣhf al-Raṣhīq fī Waṣf al-Ḥarīq : It is a Maqama on wine.
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20. Al-Ḡhayth al-Musajjam fī Sharḥ Lamiyyat al-ʿAjam: It is a commentary on the poem of Tughrāʾī. The book is printed at Cairo in 1305/1887 in two volumes.
 21. Kitāb al-Arab min Ḡhayth al-Adab: It is an extract of the preceding work.
 22. Kitāb Tawshīq (or Tashnīf) al-Sām bi Inkisāb al-Dam: The book is perhaps similar or identical with No.15.
 23. Nuṣrat al-Thāʾir ʿAlā al-Maṭhal al-Sāʾir : It is against the well-known work of Ibn al-Aṭhīr entitled al-Maṭhal al-Sāʾir.
 24. Jinān al-Jinās fī ʿIlm al-Badīʿ: It is written on paranomasia consisting principally of the author's own verses. It is printed at Constantinople in 1299/1881.
 25. Ikhtirāʿ al-Khīra : It is an explanation of obscure verses lexicographically and as to their rhetorical figure.
 26. Faḍḍ al-Khitām ʿan al-Tawriyya wa al-Istikhdān: It is on metalepsis and the use of words which can be altered so as to give different meaning.
 27. Al-Shajarat al-Numāniyya fī al-Dawlat al-ʿUṭhmāniyya: It is a commentary on the work of Ibn al-ʿArabī, prophecies about the Turkish dynasty.
 28. Tawq al-Ḥamāma : It is an abbreviation of the commentary of Ibn ʿAbdūn on the poem of Ibn Badrūn.
 29. Tamām al-Mutūn fī Sharḥ Risālat Ibn Zaydūn : It is a commentary on the celebrated epistle of Ibn Zaydūn, no doubt inspired by the work of his master, Ibn Nubāta.
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30. Kitāb Ghawāmiḍ al-Ṣihāḥ: It is a small work on the obscurities of the Ṣihāḥ of al-Jawahiri.
31. Najd al-Falāḥ fī Mukhtaṣar al-Ṣahāḥ: It is an abbreviation of the Ṣahāḥ, emitting the evidentiary verses and correcting errors.
32. Ḥaly al-Nawāhid 'Alā ma fī al-Ṣahāḥ min al-Shawāhid: It is an explanation of the evidentiary verses quoted in the Ṣahāḥ.
33. Raṣḥf al-La'ālī fī Waṣf al-Hilāl : It is composed by al-Suyūṭī on the verses of al-Ṣafadī and his contemporaries on the new moon.

Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī: Ṣalāḥ (Fakhr) al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Shākir al-Kutubī al-Ḥalabī al-Darrānī al-Dimaṣḥqī is a Syrian Muslim Arab historian and biographer. The only known sketch of his life is in the Kitāb al-Durar al-Kāmina fī A'yān al-Mīa al-Thāmina of Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī¹, the source which is used by Brockelmann².

According to this source al-Kutubī was born in 686/1287 in a village of Damascus called Dariyā and died in Ramaḍān 764/June -July, 1363 in Damascus. He studied in Aleppo and Damascus under Abū al-Shihna al-Ḥalabī, al-Mizzī and others, and made a considerable fortune and became rich as a book seller(al-Kutubī). He was originally a poor man having no profession and service. The best

known and the only one printed of his works, a continuation of Ibn Khallikān's Wafayāt with the title Fawāt al-Wafayāt³, containing

1. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, Durar al-Kāmina, vol.iii, PP.451-2.

2. Cf. Brockelmann, GAL, vol.ii, P.48.

3. Edited by Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (Cairo, 1951), 2 volumes. (Būlāq, 1283/1866, 1299/1881).

a biography which gives the year of his death as 773 A.H., which caused the editor of the Būlāq edition to write a note on this doubtful point. The contradiction had already been satisfactorily explained in Wustenfeld, *Die Geschichts Chreiber der Araber und idre Wekre*¹ that in the biography the date of the death should read 764 A.H. instead of 773 A.H. In the Fawāt there are 572 biographies, of which 7 are already mentioned in Ibn Khallikān's Wafayāt. Further works of al-Kutubī are :

- (i) Rawdat al-Aḥkār (al-Azhār) wa Hadīqat al-Ashār: It is a collection of ghazals².
- (ii) UYūn al-Tawārīkh (Sources of the Histories): The whole book comprises 6 volumes according to Hājjī Khalīfa No.3463. In this book, as Ibn Kathīr says, the history till the end of the 760 A.H. or more is mentioned. An incomplete manuscript of the book is available in the libraries of al-Zahiriyya, Ghūta, Paris, British Museum and Vatican of Rome³. It is a history of the Caliphs and learned man centered upon Damascus. But al-Kutubī is best known because of his Fawāt al-Wafayāt.

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1. Cf. New edition, represented from A.G.W.Gott, 1882, P.xxviii, Sq., P.178.
 2. About the origin and development of Ghazal (love-poem), see: A. Bausani " Ghazal", Encyclopadia of Islām (Leyden: E.J.Brill, 1965), vol.ii, PP.1028-38.
 3. Cf. M.Plessner, "al-Kutubī", Encyclopadia of Islām vol,ii, P.1172; Ḥabīb al-Zayyāt, Khuẓain al-Kutub fī Dimashq wa Dawāhīhā (Cairo: Maārif Press, 1902), vol.i, P.77.

Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī lived and worked under the Mamlūk rule (648-922/1250-1517) in Egypt and Syria¹. As regards the Mamlūk historiography in the Eastern Islām Sarton says² that the great works of the first half of the 8th/14th century like histories of the Mamālik, histories of great cities, collections of biographies, historical compendia for civil servants were continued or rebuilt in a new way. So Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī continued the Wafayāt al-Āyān of Ibn Khallikān, and wrote a history of the Muslim world as seen from Damascus. The Mamlūk group of historiography is the most important which includes, as Sarton added, more men than the three other Eastern (Islām, groups (i.e. Arabia, 'Irāq, Persia) put together. This is natural enough, for many of the cultural centres of Islām - Cairo, Alexandria, Jerusalem, Damascus, Aleppo, were under Mamlūk control. In this connection it may be mentioned that Ibn Khallikān's Wafayāt al-Āyān (compiled in 673/1274) was twice continued, firstly by al-Muwaffaq Faḍlallah b. Abī Muḥammad (d. between 661/1261 and 727/1325, and 2ndly by Muḥammad b. Shākir al-Kutubī (Book seller), who added a series of omitted biographies entitled Fawāt al-Wafayāt³.

About the form and style of Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī's history writing Franz Rosenthal justly remarks that from the 7th/13th century onwards, there was a steady flow of Arabic and Persian universal

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1. Cf. C.E. Bosworth, The Islāmic Dynasties, Islāmic Surveys series-5 (Edinburgh: University Press, 1967), PP. 63-6.
 2. Cf. G. Sarton, Introduction to the History of Science, vol. iii, part ii, P. 1264.
 3. Ibid, vol. iii, Part i, P. 308; al-Kutubī, Fawāt al-Wafayāt, ed. M. Muḥyī al-Dīn A. Ḥamīd (Cairo, 1951), Vol. i, preface of the publisher, PP. 3-4.

histories. Most of them were distinguished merely by the different emphasis they placed upon the one or other of the various components of Muslim world historiography. Whether the theological interest dominated historical writing, a quite notable development took place. Pre-Islamic history became pre-dominantly a collection of Muslim traditions concerning the creation of the world and Biblical history. The biography of Muḥammad, the treatment of which can serve, as has been shown, as an indication of the historian's intellectual outlook, was expanded beyond any reasonable limits. A typical representative of this tendency is Ibn Kaṭhīr's al-Bidāya wa al-Nihāya. Or other way was found. Pre-Islāmic history was unimportant for theology and the biography of Muḥammad was a sacred subject to be treated by itself the result was works such as the history of 'Abd al-Dam (d. 642/1244) al-Kutubī's Uyūn al-Tawārīkh, or al-Yāfiī's (d. 768/1367) Mirāt al-Zamān, all of which began with year one of the hijrah¹.

1. Cf. Franz Rosenthal, A History of Muslim Historiography (Leyden: E.J.Brill, 1968), P.148; S.R.Khanam, M.Phil, Thesis, Manuscrip, P.85.

CHAPTER-III

AL-DHAHABĪ'S WORKS

As an author, al-Dhahabī was not as prolific as Ibn al-Jawzī before him or al-Suyūṭī after him. However, some of his works have attained a high standard in East and West alike. Like practically all the post-classical Arab authors he too was a compiler, but his works are distinguished by careful composition and constant references to his authorities. It is for these peculiarities that his works on Tradition (Hadīth) specially on the ʿIlm al-Rijāl (The Science of Narrators) have become very popular¹. It is not easy to mention al-Dhahabī's contributions to branches of knowledge in a very few pages. It needs a long description to enumerate his compositions and compilations. His compilations, abridgments and exegeses are numbered about one hundred. However, we will mention in brief his major works which has earned him name and fame as an intellectual personality. His works on the science of Hadīth literature are innumerable. He started with the abridgement of different volumes of the Hadīth. He made the abridged editions of al-Mustadrak by Abu ʿAbd Allah al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī and the Sunan al-Kabīr by Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Baihaqī (d. 458/1066) and his kitāb al-Qadr. He, therefore, found his editions fruitful. He also made the abridged editions of Tadhhīb al-Kamāl by his friend and teacher al-Mizzī and named it Tadhhīb al-Tahdhīb. Then he produced another abridged version of it and named it al-Kāshif. He also abridged al-Mizzī's work kitāb

1. Cf. Moh. Ben Cheneb, "al-Dhahabī", Encyclopadia of Islām (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965), P. 215; G. Sarton, Introduction to the History of Science, (Baltimore: The Williams & Wilkins Co., 1947), vol. iii, pp. 963-67.

al-Aṭrāf. He reviewed the Tālīq Ḥadīthes (suspended Traditions) composed by Ibn al-Jawzī. He also abridged the kitāb al-Ansāb by Tāj al-Islām Abū Saʿd ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Samʿānī (d. 562/1167) and many other books¹.

Al-Dhahabī's compilations which earned him name and fame, as we believe, are those works that deal with the biographies of the narrators of the Ḥadīth and the preservation of their names. Of these the most famous are one Mīzān al-Itidāl fī Naqd al-Rijāl, which in the opinion of al-Ḥusayn the best of his works². Al-Mughnī fī al-Duʿafāʾ al-Muqtanā fī al-Kunā and al-Mushtabā fī al-Asmāʾ are excellent books for al-Dhahabī. In the field of Historiography al-Dhahabī's voluminous work the Tārīkh al-Islām (The History of Islām) earned him a wide-spread repute. It was the greatest of all his works in its value and size. It comprises twenty one volumes. Al-Dhahabī was a famous student of history, fiqh and ḥadīth, but, being struck with blindness in 743/1342, he then devoted his time to collecting biographical and other historical information by oral tradition.

Now I like to give a descriptive list of al-Dhahabī's famous works whether published or unpublished in the following :

1. Al-Mushtabih fī Asmāʾ al-Rijāl wa al-Ansāb: The book is edited

1. Cf. Al-Dhahabī, Siyar ʿĀlām al-Nabālāʾ, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, with a preface by Ṭaha Ḥusayn (Cairo: Dar al-Māʾarif, 1956), pp. 25-26.

2. Cf. al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Nāqid Abū al-Maḥāsīm al-Ḥusaynī, Dhayl Tadhkirat al-Huffāz, p. 35.

by 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bajāwī (Cairo: Dār Iḥyā al-Kutub al-'Arabiyyah, 1382/1962) which consists of 384 pages. It is an alphabetical dictionary of proper names occurring in the Traditions (Aḥādith). It is also edited by P. de Jong and published at Leiden in 1963-1881 A.D. which consists of 614 pages. A few MSS. of the books are available in Aḥmad al-Thālith, No. 3028, Escorial, No. 1781, Kuburili No. 386, Jār Allah No. 439 and Fas al-Qurrūwīn No. 629.

2. Mizān al-Itidāl fī Naqd al-Rijāl: It is an alphabetical dictionary of apocryphal or weak traditionists or those suspected of being so and of unreliable ("weak") traditionists. The book is edited by Moulavi Muḥammad Khādim Ḥusain and published at Lucknow in 3 volumes in 1301/1883 and at Cairo in 1325/1907. The book is also found in MS. form in al-Zāhiriyya No. 368. The MS is more reliable than the published one¹. The book is also published at Hyderabad in 1329/1911-1331/1913 and the letter hamza only at Istānbūl in 1304/1886-7. It was extracted by Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqālī (d. 852/1448-9) in his Lisān al-Mizān.

3. Tajrīd (fī) Asmā' al-Ṣaḥāba: It is a dictionary of the prophet's companions, derived from the Uṣd al-Ghāba of Ibn al-Aṭhīr (d. 630/1233). The book is also entitled as al-Isāba fī Tajrīd Asmā' al-Ṣaḥāba based chiefly on the Uṣd al-Ghāba of Ibn al-Aṭhīr, which was printed at Hyderabad in 2 volumes in 1315/1897-8.²

1. Cf. Al-Dhahabī, Siyar A'lam al-Nubalā', P. 35.

2. Cf. Moh. Ben Cheneb, "al-Dhahabī" Encyclopadia of Islām, vol. ii, p. 215.

4. Tadhhīb al-Tadhhīb: It is a published book consists of 3 volumes on correction of the names in the traditions recorded in the six canonical books. It is an abridgment and an improved edition of the Tadhhīb al-Kamāl fī Asmā' al-Rijāl of al-Muzzī Abū 'Abd Allah Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. al-Hasan b. al-Najjār Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Shāfī (d. 643/1245-6) on the traditionists of the six canonical works. Excerpts from the Tadhhīb were edited by A. Fisher in his Biographien von Gewährsmännern des Ibn Ishāq, hauptsächlich aus al-Dhahabī (Leiden, 1890)¹. An abridgment of it entitled Khulāṣa Tadhhīb al-Tadhhīb fī Asmā' al-Rijāl was made by Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allah al-Khazrajī, which is edited and published at Būlāq in 1301/1883. The origin of this compilation may be briefly told, as an example of many other library developments in Islām. Abū 'Abd Allah Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. al-Najjār had written a collection of biographies of the traditionists entitled kitāb al-Kamāl fī Ma'rifat al-Rijāl. About a century later abundant corrections and additions to this work were collected by Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. al-Zakī al-Mizzī (d. 743/1342) and 'Alā al-Dīn Muḥultai b. Qilij (d. 763/1361) under the title Kitāb al-Tadhhīb (Book of Correction or adjustment).

This enormous work which consists of 13 volumes was abbreviated and corrected by al-Dhahabī. This again corrected by Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī (d. 853/1449), who published a Kitāb Tadhhīb al-tadhhīb published (Hyderabad, 1348/1929). An abridgment of al-Dhahabī's work was made by Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allah al-Khazrajī, entitled Khulāṣat

1. Cf. J.D. Somogyi, "The Tārīkh al-Islām of al-Dhahabī", Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britane & Ireland (1932), p. 822, note-2.

tahdhīb al-tahdhīb fī Asmā' al-Rijāl (with various glosses which consists of 500 pages (Būlāq, 1884). Al-Dhahabī wrote various other works on Hadīth, which was always his subject of predilection.¹ A MS copy of the book is available in Dār al-Kutub of Egypt. No. 62 and 88 (Muṣṭalah).

5. Al-Kāshif fī Ma'rifat Asmā' al-Rijāl: It is an extract of the former work of Tahdhīb in one volume. A MS. copy of it available at Tamuriyyah, No. 1936 (Tārīkh) at al-Zāhiriyyah, No. 320 (Hadīth).

6. Al-Muqtanā fī Sirr al-Kunā: It is a dictionary of Kunyas.

7. Al-Mustarjil fī al-Kunā: A dictionary of names only used in Kunyas (Surnames).

8. Al-Manzūma fī Asma al-Huffāz : A collection of the names of Hāfizes.

9. Al-Mughnī fī al-Du'afā' wa ba'd al-Thiqat: A work on unreliable ("weak") authorities on the hadīth.

10. Al-Muqiza : A treatise on the different sciences of hadīth.

11. Tashbih al-Khasīs bī Ahl al-Khamīs: A work on good authorities on hadīth².

12. Al Tibb al-Nabawī (or Nabī) : It is a treatise on medicine of the prophet(s) which has been ascribed to al-Dhahabī, but in my opinion unconvincingly. That title appears many times in Arabic literature; so much so that Ḥājjī Khalīfa devotes

1. Cf. G. Sarton, Introduction to the History of Science, vol. iii, P. 964.

2. Ibid, P. 966

a special section to it named, "ʿIlm Ṭibb al-Nabī". He ascribes such treatises to Abū Nuʿaim Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Iṣfahānī (d.430/1038), to Abū al-ʿAbbās Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad al-Mustaghfirī (d.432/1040), to Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī (d.911/1505), and to four others, but not to al-Dhahabī. On the other hand, the text translated by A. Perron (1277/1860) - the only one we have examined ascribed by him to one Jalāl al-Dīn Abū Sulaymān Daūd is not the kind of text one would expect from a historian and traditionist. It includes a few traditions concerning the prophet, but not more than might be found in any general medical book written by a Muslim. It is certainly not a book of medical traditions concerning the Prophet(s), but an elaborate medical treatise which can only have been composed by a physician. It is divided into three parts: (i) medical generalities, hygiene; (ii) medicines and foods, that is, an abundant materia medica beginning with general views on practical medicine and the qualities required in a physician; (iii) treatment of diseased and prophylaxy. Of course al-Dhahabī may have written an entirely different treatise bearing the same title, but such a treatise has not yet been produced¹.

13. The apocryphal al-Ṭibb al-Nabawī in its first edition (120 P. Cario 1870) is ascribed to al-Dhahabī. It was reprinted with the same ascription in the margins of the Tashīl al-Manāfī, a compendium of medicine of Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Azraqī (Cario, 1887).²

1. Ibid

2. Ibid

French translation by A. Perron : La medicine du Prophete
(Gazette medicale de l'Algérie; reprint 228 P., Alger 1860),
who ascribed the text to Jalāl al-Dīn Abū Sulaimān Daūd.

14. Asmā' Alladhina Rāmū al-Khilāfat: The book is edited by
Ṣalāh al-Dīn al-Munajjid and published in the Journal of Maḥad
al-Makhtūtāt al-ʿArabiyyah in four volumes (1958), consisting
of pages 301-308.

15. Bayān Zaḡhl al-ʿIlm wa al-Ṭalab: The book is published
with al-Risāla al-Dhahabiyya to Ibn Taimiyyah from Damascus in
1347/1928¹.

16. Kitāb al-ʿUlū li'l ʿAlī al-Ghaffār wa ʾIdāh Ṣaḥīh al-Akḥbār
wa Saqīmiḥā : The book is published in the collection of ʾĀlām
Ahl al-ʿAsr of Shams al-Huq al-ʿAzīm ʾĀbādī, consisting of pages
97 - 154. The book is abridged by Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Dīn al-
Albānī and published (Beirut, 1401/1981), consisting of 304 pages.
A MS. copy of the book is available in the library of Khudā Bakḥsh,
Bankipur, No. 1252, 3rd part- al-Zāhiriyyah, Majmūʿ No. 21 (244).

17. Manāqib al-Imām Abī Hanīfa wa Ṣāhibaihi Abu Yusuf wa
Muḥammad b. al-Hasan; The book is edited and annotated by Zāhid al-
Kawṭharī and Abū al-Wafā al-Afḡḡānī which is published from Cairo.

1. Cf. ʿUmar Riḍā Kaḥḥāla, Muʿjam al-Muallifīn (Beirut: Dār
Iḥyā al-Turāṭh al-ʿArabī, 1376/1957), vol. 8, pp. 289-91.

18. Tārīkh al-Islām (The History of Islām) :This work, though well-known and much referred to by both oriental and occidental scholars, has never yet been edited as whole nor discussed at any length. The book consists of 21 volumes¹. The parts which have hitherto been edited and published are: (1) The biography of Ibn Rushd by J.E. Renan, Averroes et al Averroisme, Appendice iv, 2^e edition, paris, 1861.(2) The biography of Abū al-ʿAlā al-Maʿarrī, which is more copious than that of Ibn Khallikān and also following different sources, has been edited from the MS.of the British Museum No.1637 as an appendix to The Letters of Abū al-ʿAlā of Maʿarrat al-Nūmān, by D.S.Margoliouth in the Anecdota Oxoniensi, semitic series, Oxford, 1898, PP. 129-37. (3) The biography of Umarāʾ al-Yamanī in his Umarā du yemen, sa vie et son oeuvre, tome ii. Paris 1902, pp.491-5 (4) Short excerpts are printed in the notes to the Ḍhayl Tārīkh Dimashq of Ibn al-Qalamis ed. H.F.Amedroz Beyrut, 1908.² Al-Ziriklī mentions in his al-ʿĀlām that the history of islam consists of 36 volumes of which 5 volumes are published.³

1. Cf. Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī, Kunūz al-Ajdād (Damascus: Matbaʿa al-Taraqī, 1370/1950, p.370. But Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī in his Fawāt al-Wafayāt (Cairo: Maktaba al-Nahḍa, 1951), vol.ii, P.371, says that the book consists of 20 volumes. Al-Ziriklī in al-ʿĀlām, vol.vi, p.222 mentions 36 volumes.

2. Cf. J.De. Somogyi, "The Tārīkh al-Islām of al-Dhahabī", Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland (1932), pp.823, note-1.

3. Al-Zirikli, al-ʿĀlām, 2nd edn.vol.6, p.222.

19. kitāb Duwal al-Islām or Tārīkh al-Saghīr (Small History): The book is an abridgment of Tārīkh al-Islām which was made by al-Dhahabī himself. It is published in two volumes at Hyderabad in 1337/1918-9. The 2nd edition of the book is available in two volumes published from Hyderabad in 1364/1944.

20. Al-‘Ibar fī Akhbār al-Bashar Mimman ‘Abar (Muntakhab al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr) : It is an abridgment of the biographical classes". The works No.19 and No.20 combined give a fairly good synopsis of the whole of the Tārīkh Islām. But the following are extractions from the biographical "classes" (Tabaqāt) only.

21. Tadhkirat al-Huffāz: The book is published at Hyderabad in 1332-3/1914-5, i.e. five parts in a single volume. The 2nd edition of the book is available in four volumes published at Hyderabad in 1375/1955. The best known abridgment and continuation of the work was done by al-Suyūṭī under the title Tabaqāt al-Huffāz, published by F.Wustenfeld at Gottingen in 1250/1833-4. Al-Suyūṭī's continuation was also published at Damascus in 1347/1928-9. The Tadhkirat al-Huffāz is also the basis of the Tabaqāt al-Shāfiyyah of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba al-Asadī.

22. Tabaqāt al-Qurrā' al-Mashhūrīn : The book is published in 7 parts in al-Hidāya (an Arabic periodical in Turkey), vol iv, 1331/1912-3 and ff. A Ms. copy of the book is available in the libraries of Berlin No.3140, Paris No.2084 and Kuburili No.116.
23. Al-'Ibar fī Khabar man 'Abar or Ghabar: It is a transcript enlarged in some passages of al-Dhahabī's work under the same title (as in No.20) by Ibn Qādī Shuhba (d. 85/1447-8). The book under the title al-'Ibar fī Khabar Man Ghabar is edited by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid and published in 3 volumes at Kuwait: Dā'irat al-Maṭbū'āt wa al-Naṣhr in 1380/1960.
24. Siyar 'Ālām al-Nubalā': The book is entitled Tārīkh al-Nubalā' by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī and Ibn Diqmaq. But Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī named it Tārīkh al-'Ulamā' al-Nubalā' while Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī named it Kitāb al-Nubalā' and Sibṭ Ibn Ḥajar Āyān al-Nubalā'. Al-Ḥusaynī, Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, Ibn Ḥajar and al-Sakhāwī named it Siyar al-Nubalā'. The book under the title Siyar 'Ālām al-Nubalā' consists of 14 volumes. But Ibn-Shākir mentions that the book consists of 20 volumes. The three volumes of the book under the same title are edited by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid and published at Cairo : Dār al-Ma'ārif with Maḥad al-Makhtūṭāt al-'Arabīyya in 1957.
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Al-Dhahabī divided the Siyar into about forty ṭabaqāt (classes). He preferred the biographies of the renowned traditionists of the Muslim world in this book from Spain to far East.¹

25. Mukhtasar li Tārīkh Baghdād: Al-Dhahabī abridged in 2 volumes the Tārīkh Baghdād of Ibn al-Dubaythī, a synopsis of the history of Baghdād according to Ibn al-Dubaythī (d. 637/1239-40) known al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī.

26. Mukhtasar Akhbār al-Nahwiyyīn: He abridged the History of the Grammarians, a synopsis of Ibn al-Qiftī (d. 646/1248-9).

27. Al-Duwal al-Islāmiyyah: al-Dhahabī himself abridged his history and named it al-Duwal al-Islāmiyyah.

28. Al-Ishārat ilā wafayāt al-Āyān: It is a small abridgment made by al-Dhahabī himself. A Ms. copy of the book is available at Aleppo in al-Aḥmadiyyah library No. 328. It is the small abridgment of his history of Islām .

29. Al-Īlām bi Wafayāt al-Ālām: It is also an abridgement of al-Dhahabī's history of Islām written by himself. A few Mss. of it are available in the libraries of al-Zāhiriyyah, No. Majmū' 117 (183), Anis

1. Cf. Dr. Bashshār 'Awād Marūf "Siyar Ālam al-Nubalā' li al-Dhahabī," Majalla al-Majma' al-Ilmī al-'Irāqī, Baghdād, 1981, vol. 32, part-3-4, pp. 437-471.

al-Kitāb No.1162(50), Şaṇā¹.

30. Ahl al-Mi'at fasā'idān: A Ms. copy of it available in the library of Zāhiriyya, Am No.4547.

31. Asmā' man 'Āsha Thamānina Sanatan Bāda Sheikhin Aw Bāda Tārīkh Simā'in : A Ms. copy of it available in the library of Aya Şofia, No.2953.

32. Tarjama al-Hallāj: A Ms. copy of it is available in the library of Zāhiriyya, Majmū' No.12(202). The book is written on the biography of Mansūr al-Hallāj.

33. Tarjama Sheikh Raslān: It is a book written on Sufiism. A Ms. copy of it is available in the library of Zāhiriyya, Taşdwwof No.20 (115).

34. Talkhīṣ al-'Ilal al-Mutanāhiyya : Al-Dhahabī wrote a comment on this book of Ibn al-Jawzī.

35. Tanqīḥ Ahādīth al-Ta'ālīq: He examined the suspended traditions of Ibn al-Jawzī in this book. A Ms. copy of it is available in the library of Faidallah, No.296.

1. Sāfīd al-Afghānī serialised the works of al-Dhahabī alphabetically in his preface of Sīrat Ibn Hiṣhām; Majalla Mahad al-Makhtūtāt, vol.i, Part ii, p.199.

36. Thalāthūna Ḥadīthān Min Mu'jam al-Ṭabrānī Intiqā al-Dhahabī:

A Ms. copy of the book is available in the library of Shāhid 'Alī, No.546/17.

37. Juz' fī al-Ḥadīth al-Mulaqqab bi al-Dīnār Min Ḥadīth al-

Mashāikh al-Kibār: It is an exegesis of al-Dhahabī for some traditions of the great Sheikh. A Ms. copy of the book is available in Dār al-Kutub, No.1558(Ḥadīth).

38. Huqūq al-Jār : A Ms. copy of the book is available in the library of Kubruli, No.1584/3.

39. Dhayl 'Alā al-Du'afā' wa al-Matrūkīn: A Ms. copy of this supplement is available in the library of Zāhiriyya No.369/228)(Ḥadīth).

40. Dhayl al-'Ibar: It is a supplement of al-'Ibar written by al-Dhahabī himself. A Ms. copy of the book is available in the library of 'Arif Hikma No.344, Tārīkh with Dhayl al-Husaynī.

41. Al-Du'afā' wa al-Matrūkūn: The MSS. copies of the book are available in the libraries of Faiḍallah No.495, al-Zāhiriyya No. 369 (145), Ḥadīth, Tub Qabū No.3053, 111,A.

42. Al-Kabā'ir wa Bayān al-Mahārim: The book is written on Sufism consisting of 2 parts. A Ms. copy of the book is available in the libraries of Suhaj No.141 ,Dār al-Kutub No.953.

43. Al-Muntaqā min Minhāj al-Ītidāl: It is a selection of al-Dhahabī from the book Minhāj al-Ītidāl of Ibn Taimiyyah. The book is edited by Syed Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb and printed at Cairo in 1955. A Ms. copy of the book is available at Aleppo in al-ʿUthmaniyyah Library No.579.

44. Al-Muntaqā min al-Kunā: It is also a selection of Kitāb al-Kunā of Ḥākim Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Naysābūrī. A Ms. copy of the book is available in the library of al-Aḥmadiyyah at Aleppo No.228.

45. Al-Mujarrad min Tahdhīb al-Kamāl: It is an abridgment of Tahdhīb al-Kamāl of Sheikh Ḥāfiẓ Jamāl al-Dīn al-Muzzī in 3 volumes. A Ms. copy of the book is available in the libraries of al-Fātikhān No. 1032 and Berlin No.9938.

46. Ikhtisār Kitāb al-Aṭrāf: It is an abridgment of Kitāb al-Aṭrāf of al-Muzzī in 2 volumes.

47. Ikhtisār Sunan al-Bayhaqī: It is an abridgment of al-Sunan al-Kabīr of al-Bayhaqī consisting of 5 volumes.

48. Muʿjam al-Shuyūkh : Al-Dhahabī has three Muʿjam of his sheikhs. The number of his Sheikhs are one thousand three hundred. Among his three Muʿjams only one is available in Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah No.918 Muṣṭalah.

49. Al-Muqaddama Zat al-Niqat fī al-Alqāb: The book with the hand writing of al-Suyūṭī is available in Dār al-Kutub as photo copy, No.4423 Jīm.
50. Nubdhat min Fawā'id Tārīkh Ibn al-Jazarī: The book with the hand writing of al-Dhahabī himself is available in the Kuburuli Library, No.1147.
51. Al-Duwal al-Islāmiyyah: It is an abridgment of al-'Ibar consisting of one volume. In some sources the title of the book is Duwal al-Islām¹.
52. Nabā' al-Dajjāl: The book consists of one volume.
53. Al-Mukhtasar al-Muhtāj Ilaihi Min Tārīkh Baghdād: The book is written on history. It is edited by Dr. Mustafa Jawād and published in Baghdād in 1952 A.D. A Ms. copy of the book is available in Dār al-Kutub of Egypt No.324 Tārīkh.
54. Ikhtisār al-Sunan al-Kabīr of al-Bay haqī: Al-Dhahabī abridged al-Bayhaqī's al-Sunan al-Kabīr. A Ms. copy of the book is available in Madīna No.258.
55. Al-Arbā'ūna al-Buldāniyya al-Mustakhraja Min Mu'jam al-Ṭabrānī: It is a book written on Ḥadīth. It is a collection of forty ḥadīth collected from the Mu'jam of al-Ṭabrānī. A Ms. copy of the book
1. Cf. Ibn al-'Imād al-Ḥambalī, Shadhrāt al-Dhahab, (Bairut, n.d) vol.6, P.155; al-Ziriklī, al-Ālām, 2nd edn. vol.6, P.222.

is available in the Taymūriyya library No.438 Hadīth.

56. Al-Rōw' wa Adjāl Fī Baqā'i al-Dajjāl: Al-Dhahabī wrote this book on Dajjāl and their terrorism.

57. Kitāb Kasr Waṭṭan Ratan al-Hindī : Al-Dhahabi wrote this book on Ratan b.Kirbat b.Ratan al-Bitrandī, a liar who appeared in India after 600 A.H. and thus claimed to be a companion of the Prophet Muḥammad(s)¹.

58. Kitāb al-Ziyādah al-Mudṭarabah: The book is written by al-Dhahabi on the principles of Hadīth.

59. Kitāb al-Kabā'ir: The book is written on the great sins. The book consists of 2 volumes.

60. Kitāb Tahrim Aḍbār al-Nisā' Kabiratan wa Saghiratan: Al-Dhahabī wrote this book on the prohibition of sexual intercourse in the back of the women. The book consists of 2 volumes.

61. Kitāb al-'Arsh: Al-Dhahabī wrote this book on the description of the Kingdom of Allah.

62. Kitāb Ahādīth al-Sifat: Al-Dhahabī wrote this book on the Hadīthes said for Adjectives.

1. Cf. Al-Dhahabī: Tārīkh al-Islām wa Ṭabaqāt al-Maṣhāhīr. ed. Husām al-Qudsī (Cairo: Maktaba al-Qudsī, 1367/1947) vol.i, P.7. No.1.

63. Juz' Fī Faḍl Āyat al-Kursī: Al-Dhahabī wrote this brochure on the merits of the holy "Āyat al-Kursī".
64. Juz' Fī al-Shafāʿ: Al-Dhahabī wrote this brochure on the Intercession on the Day of Judgement.
65. Juz'an fī Ṣifat al-Nār: Al-Dhahabī wrote two brochures on the description of the Hell.
66. Masālat al-Simāʿ: He wrote a brochure on the problem of hearing .
67. Masālat al-Ghayb: He wrote a book on the subject of the Divine Secret.
68. Kitāb Rūyat al-Barī: He wrote a book on looking at Allāh¹.
69. Kitāb al-Maut Wa mā Bādahu: He wrote this book on the description of death and what to be happened after death in one volume.
70. Turuq Ahādīth al-Nuzūl: He wrote this book on the description of the revelation of the holy Qu'rān and its various methods by Ḥadīth.

1. Cf. Al-Dhahabī, Tārikh al-Islām, vol.i, P.7; Ibn Ṣhākir al-Kutubī, Fawāt al-Wafayāt, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (Cairo: Maktaba al-Nafqa al-Miṣriyya, 1951), P.371.

71. Kitāb al-Libās: He wrote this book on the description of dress permissible.
72. Kitāb al-Zalzal: He wrote this book on the Earth Quaks.
73. Maʿalat Dawāmal-Nār: He wrote this book on the problem of continuing punishment in the hell fire.
74. Kitāb al-Tamassūk bi al-Sunan: He wrote this book on devotion to the Sunnah.
75. Kitāb al-Talwīh biman Sabaqa wa Lahiqā: He wrote this book on hinting to a person who preceded and joined in the prayer.
76. Kitāb Mukhtasar fī al-Qaraʾat: He wrote this book on shortening the recitation in prayer.
77. Kitāb hāllat al-Badr fī Ahl al-Badr: Al-Dhahabī wrote this book on the priority and superiority of Ahl Badr.
78. Ikhtisār Taqwīm al-Buldān: He abridged the Taqwīm al-Buldān of Abū al-Fidā, the Ṣāhib Ḥumāt¹.
79. Kitāb Tarjama al-Salaf: He wrote this book on the biography of the predecessors.

1. Ibid.

80. Duʿā al-Makrūb: He wrote this book on the prayer of sorrowful.
81. Juzʿ Salāt al-Tasbīh: Al-Dhahabī wrote this brochure on the prayer of al-Tasbīh.
82. Fadl al-Hājǵ wa Afʿalihi: Al-Dhahabī wrote this book on the merits and performances of pilgrim-age to Mecca.
83. Kitāb Muǵam Shuyūkhīhi al-Kabīr: Al-Dhahabī wrote this Dictionary on the biography of his senior Professors and teachers.
84. Kitāb Muǵam Shuyūkhīhi al-Awsat: Al-Dhahabī wrote this Dictionary on the biography of his Middle aged Professors and teachers.
85. Kitāb Muǵam Shuyūkhīhi al-Ṣaḡhīr: Al-Dhahabī wrote this dictionary on the biography of his junior Professors and teachers.
86. Kitāb al-Muǵam al-Mukhtaṣṣ: He wrote this biographical dictionary on the merits and biographies of his special teachers.¹

1. Al-Dhahabī mentioned in this book a group of contemporary professors and teachers of Hadīth where many of them lived after his death, like al-Ṣalāḥ al-ʿAlāʿī, al-ʿIzz Abī ʿUmar b. Jumʿa, al-ʿImād b. Kathīr al-Taḡī b. Rāfiʿ, al-Bahā b. Khalīl, al-Tāǵ al-Subkī, al-ʿAfīf al-Maṭarī, al-Haiz al-Ḥusaynī. Moreover, some of them lived more than forty years after the death of Al-Dhahabī like

87. Ikhtisar Kitab al-Qadr: Al-Dhahabi abridged kitab al-Qadr of al-Bayhaqi in 3 volume.

88. Ahadiith Mukhtasar Ibn al-Hajib: Al-Dhahabi critically discussed the Hadithes mentioned in the Mukhtasar Ibn al-Hajib.

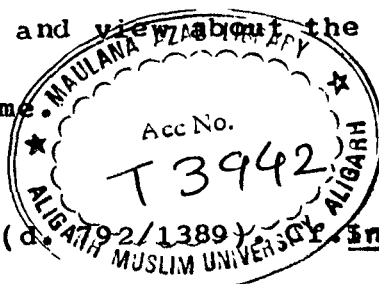
89. Tawqif Ahl al-Towfiq ala Manaqib al-Siddiq: He wrote this book on the virtues of the caliph Abu Bakr Siddiq(R), in one volume.

90. Nima al-Samar fi Sirat Umar: Al-Dhahabi wrote this book on the good conversation in the biography of the caliph Umar(R) in one volume.

91. Al-Tibyan fi Manaqib Uthman: He wrote this book on the virtues of the Caliph Uthman(R) in one volume.

92. Fath al-Matalib fi Akhbar Ali b. Ali Talib:

He wrote this book on the news and view about the Caliph Ali b. Abi Talib(R), in one volume.



Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sanad (d. 792/1389), Inbā' al-

Ghimar wa al-Durar al-Kāmina; al-Sayed Aḥmad Rāfi' al-Ṭaḥṭawī, al-Tanbīh wa al-Īqādh lima fi Dhuyūl Tadhkira al-Huffāz.

93. Ikhtisār Kitāb al-Jihād: Al-Dhahabī abridged the Kitāb al-Jihād of Ibn 'Asākir in one volume.
94. Akhbār Abī Muslim al-Khurāsānī: Al-Dhahabī wrote this book about Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī, the Abbasi propagandist¹.
95. Al-Nubalā fī Shuyakh al-Sunnah: Al-Dhahabī wrote this book on the biography of his chosen Professor of Hadīth in one volume.

1. Cf. Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, Fawāt al-Wafayāt, vol.2, p.371.

CHAPTER-IV

AL-DHAHABĪ'S STYLE AND WORKS ON HISTORICAL LITERATURE

Al-Dhahabī excelled most in historical literature. His principal and longest work on this subject is his great general history entitled Tārīkh al-Islām (The History of Islām) in 21 volumes. This work, though well known and much referred to both Oriental and occidental scholars, has never yet been edited as a whole nor discussed at any length. The five volumes of the work are printed together with al-Dhahabī's other work entitled Ṭabaqāt al-Mashāhīr wa al-Ālām at Cairo from 1367 /1947 onwards. It is an extensive history of Islām, beginning with the genealogy of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) and ending with the year 700/1300-1. Al Dhahabī in writing his history follows the system of the Kitāb al-Muntazam of Ibn al-Jawzī, containing both the general narrative (al-ḥawādiṭh al-Kāina) and the obituary notices of the persons who died (al-Mutawaffūn) in the several years. He completed the work in 741/1340. His method of expōsition, however, as we mentioned, is not very different from that used by Ibn al-Jawzī in the Kitāb al-Muntazam except that he separates the biographies (al-Mutawaffūn) from the general history (al-ḥawādiṭh al-Kāina). The whole work as the history of those seven Muslim centuries (AH 1-700, AD 622-1300) is divided into 70 classes (ṭabaqāt) of decades as 10 Muslim years each. In each decade

first comes the general narrative, subdivided into the several years; then follow the "classes" of the obituary notices, equally subdivided into the several years, and ended by the obituary notices of persons whose exact dates of death could not be stated. The relation of the extent of the general narrative to that of the obituary notices is, on an average, 1 to 6 or 7, In other words for each class the general history is given first, then the biographies, covering on the average six or seven times more space (in some MSS. all the biographies are put together). For the first three centuries, the account is largely a summary of the Tārīkh al-Rusu l wa al-Mulūk of al-Ṭabarī; for the following four centuries (A.H. 301-700, A.D. 913 - 1300), the account is much longer, and the authorities are duly quoted. For each decennial period the author relates the general history of Islam, then the local history of various centres, chiefly Baghdād and Damascus then the curiosities (ʿajāib), finally the biographies of the people who died during that period. Al-Dhahabī was specially intereted in the history of the Saljūq and Ayyūbī dynasties, and he gave a very valuable account of the tragic events of the Mongol invasion. Though he had necessarily more and better information concerning Syria and Egypt than other countries, and was also

better informed concerning Eastern than Western Islam, yet he paid more attention to Western Islām than al-Ṭabarī and even Ibn al-Aṭhīr. He was interested also in Islamic religious divergencies, such as Bāṭiniya and Shīʿā. He threw some light on the economic vicissitudes of Baghdād and Damascus, quoting prices of commodities, etc.

The curiosities or wonders (ʿajāib) include astronomical and meteorological events, droughts, famines, earthquakes (1067/68, 1157, 1169/70). His account of the terrible events of 1200-1 in the Near East, such as famines, plague, earthquake, is particularly full. Other curiosities are of the kind which always appeal to the man in the street, anywhere, such as the story of a sorcerer, the appearance of an elephant in Damascus, a Baghdād woman who had double twins, etc. The biographies are very abundant but vary considerably in length. Many are devoted to poets, theologians, and other scholars, but it is not known how many, if any, are devoted to scientists, such as astronomers or physicians.

Unlike his great predecessors al-Ṭabarī, al-Maṣūḍī, Ibn al-Jawzī, Ibn al-Aṭhīr, whose histories though centered on Islām began with the creation, extending respectively to A.D. 915, 950, 1180 and 1231, al-Dhahabī began his own account with the genealogy

of the prophet, completely neglecting earlier times. Besides these four historians he made full use also of the Kitāb Mirāt al-Zamān fī Tārīkh al-Āyān of Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, a chronicle from the creation to 1256 A.D. while Ibn al-Aṭhīr stopped in 1231 A.D. His other sources are too abundant to be enumerated here. The whole work of his Tārīkh al-Islām is divided into classes (ṭabaqāt) of decades, so that it contains seventy classes altogether as mentioned above. In each decade first comes the general narrative, subdivided into the several years; then follow the classes of the obituary notices, equally subdivided into the several years, and ended by the obituary notices of persons whose exact dates of death could not be stated. The relation of the extent of the general narrative to that of the obituary notices is, on an average, 1 to 6 or 7. The system of the general narrative of the first three centuries is entirely different from that of the last four centuries. For the first three centuries is very short, giving only the gist of the matter and being but a concise compendium of al-Ṭabarī's chronicle; it enumerates the notable persons who died in the year concerned, then the leaders of the annual pilgrimage, and last the political events. For the last four centuries the order is quite inverted. First come the detailed annual records of political history, with constant references to the

authorities consulted; then there follow those of local administrative history, specially of Bagħdād and Damascus; then the strange things (al-ʿajāib) i.e. the curiosities and striking phenomena of the year are recorded; then comes the enumeration of the leaders of the annual pilgrimage from Bagħdād and Damascus, and last the list of the names of the notabilities who died in the year concerned. The literary value of the general narrative is in its recording of events neglected by Ibn al-Athīr in his al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh, such as (1) the history of the Saljūqs, Ayyūbids, and the Mongol invasion; (2) the internal development of Islām, specially the Bāṭinis and the Shīʿis; (3) western Islām,. Al-Dhahabī's tendency is, therefore, to record the development of the whole of Islām although his narrative is more detailed for Syria and Egypt than for other countries.

The obituary notices record the biographies of all the Caliphs and minor rulers of both the Eastern and the Western Islām; then the viziers, generals, and functionaries of rank; then the jurisconsults and theologians of all the schools of canon law as well as other scholars; and last the poets, whose biographies contain numerous quotations from their works. The obituary notices in general follow

the scheme of the tabaqāt works; they have for greater historical value than the general narrative has.

About al-Dhahabī's Tārīkh al-Islām, Shaikh Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Zamilikānī, says that he stopped at al-Dhahabī's ^{Tārīkh} al-Islām one after another parts till he completed the reading of its entire parts. Then he opines that, it is a book of learning and science which embraces all the Maghāzis, Siyars and events till the end of 700 A.H. Al-Dhahabī's Tārīkh is so large that the MS. tradition is very irregular. Though there are over 50 MSS, most of them represent only parts of the work and among them they do not cover the whole text. The MSS of Aya Sophia nos. 3005-14 are autographs of the author¹. There are translations of the Tārīkh al-Islām, either partial or abridged, in Persian and Turkish.

Al-Dhahabī at the time of writing and preparing his Tārīkh al-Islām consulted the following books :

- (1) Dalā'il al-Nubuyyāh of al-Bayhaqī
- (ii) Sīrat al-Nabī of Ibn Ishāq.

1. Cf. G.Sarton, Introduction to the History of Science (Baltimore: The Williams & Wilkins Co. 1947), Vol.II, P.684; Brockelmann, GAL, ii, PP. 46-8; GAL Sup. ii, PP.45-7. Brockelmann enumerated all the oriental references and manuscripts of the work.

- (iii) Kitāb al-Maghāzī of Ibn 'Aīdh al-Kātib.
- (iv) Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā of Muḥammad b. Sā'ad, Kātib al-Wāqidī.
- (v) Tārīkh of Abū 'Abdallāh al-Bukhārī
- (vi) Al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr of Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Abī Khaythama.
- (vii) Mārifat al-Tārīkh of Yāqūb al-Fasawī¹ (d. 277/890).
- (viii) The Small History of Muḥammad b. al-Muṭḥanna al-Anazī²
- (ix) The History of Abū Ḥafṣ al-Fallās³ (d. 249/863).
- (x) The history of Abū Bakr b. Abī Shaiba.
- (xi) The History of al-Wāqidī.
- (xii) The History of al-Haytham b. 'Adī.
- (xiii) The History of Khalifa b. Khayyāt.

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1. He is Yāqūb b. Sufyān al-Fasawī of Persia. He was a great Persian Imām. He travelled from the East to the West. His numerous works are mainly based on Sufisim and Piety. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr al-Lubāb fī al-Ansāb, vol.2, P.156.
 2. He is Anaza b. Asad b. Rabī'ā b. Nizar b. Mād b. Aḍnān of Baṣrah. Imām al-Bukhārī and other Muḥaddithes narrated from him. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Lubāb fī al-Ansāb, vol.2, P.156.
 3. He is Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. 'Alī b. Baḥar of Baṣrah. He settled in Baghdād. Imām al-Bukhārī, Abū Daūd al-Tirmidhī and others narrated from him. He died in Surra Man Rā' in 249/863.

- (xiv) Al-Tabaqāt of Khalīfa b. Khayyāt.
- (xv) Tārīkh Dimashq ('The History of Damashq) of Abū Zurā al-Dimashqī.
- (xvi) Al-Futūh of Sayf b. Umar.
- (xvii) Kitāb al-Nusab of al-Zubayr b. Bakkār.
- (xviii) Al-Musnad of Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.
- (xix) The History of al-Mufaḍḍal b. Ghassān al-Ghallābī.
- (xx) Kitāb al-Jarḥ wa al-Taḍīl of Yahyā b. Muin. This Yahyā was the professor of Imām al-Bukhārī, Muslim and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.
- (xxi) Kitāb al-Jarḥ wa al-Taḍīl of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Ḥātim.

In the process of compiling his Tārīkh al-Islām al-Dhahabī also studied the following historical books :

- (i) Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī
 - (ii) Tārīkh of Ibn al-Athīr.
 - (iii) Tārīkh of Ibn al-Fardī
 - (iv) Ṣilāt of Ibn Bashkūl
 - (v) Takmilah al-Ṣilāh of Ibn Abar in al-Īlān bi al-Tawbīkh li man
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dhamma al-Tārīkh of al-Sakhawī.

(vi) Al-Kāmil of Ibn 'Adī

(vii) Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, Mirāt al-Zamān.

The Tārīkh al-Islām of al-Dhahabī was continued by at least six hands. Three of these continuations are extant: (1) from 701/1301-2 to 740/1339-40 by al-Dhahabī himself ; (2) from 701/1301 to 786/1384-5 by 'Abd al-Rahīm al-'Irāqī /Ifriqī and his son Aḥmad (d. 826/1422-23) only the latter's work being extant; (3) from 701/1301-2 to 790/1388 by Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Qadī Shuhba (d. 851/1447-8) in his al-Ilām bi Tārīkh al-Islām¹.

Owing to the voluminous character of the Tārīkh al-Islām it was abridged many times. Six abridgments were made by al-Dhahabi himself. They are as follows :

- (i) Kitab Duwal al-Islam or al-Tārīkh al-Saghīr (Small history), published at Hyderabad in 1337/1918-9.
- (ii) Al-'Ibar fī Akhbār al-Baṣṣar mimman 'abar (Muntakhab al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr), an abridgment of the biographical classes. These two works combined give a fairly good synopsis of the whole of the Tārīkh al-Islām.

1. Cf. Moh. Ben Chaneb, Encyclopadia of Islām (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1965) vol. ii, P. 215.

- (iii) Tadhkirat al-Huffāz, published at Hyderabad in 1332-3/1914-5 in five volumes. The best known abridgement and continuation of the work was done by al-Suyūṭī under the title Tabaqāt al-Huffāz, published by F.Wustenfeld at Gottingen in 1833-4. Al-Suyūṭī's (d.911/1505) continuation was also published at Damascus in 1347/1928-9. The Tadhkirat al-Huffāz is also the basis of the Tabaqāt al-Shāfiyya of Ibn Qaḍī Shuhba.
- (iv) Al-Isāba fī Tajrīd Asmā' al-Ṣahāba, an alphabetical list of Muḥammad's (s), companions based chiefly on the Uṣd al-Ghāba of Ibn al-Aṭhīr, printed at Hayderabad in 1315/1897-8.
- (v) Tabaqāt al-Kubrā al-Mashhūrīn, published in Seven parts in al-Hidāya (an Arabic periodical in Turkey), vol.iv, 1331/1912-3 and ff.
- (vi) Siyar Alām al-Nubalā', printed in 2 volumes at Cairo n.d.¹
- (vii) Al-ʿIbar fī Khabar man ʿAbar, a transcript, enlarged in some passages, of al-Dhahabī's work under the same title (as mentioned in No.2) by Ibn Qaḍī Shuhba(d. 851/1447-8).
- (viii) A similar recension of the same work by Ibn al-Shāmma al-Ḥalabī (d. 936/1529-30), extending to 734/1323-4.

1. Ibid, vol.ii, PP. 215-16.

- (ix) Al-Mukhtasar min Tārīkh al-Islām wa Tabaqāt al-Mashāhīr wa al-Ālām, by Ibn Ildekiz al-Muʿazzamī al-ʿĀdilī al-Ayyubī. These works on al-Dhahabī's Tārīkh abridgments are the extractions from the biographical "Classes" (Ṭabaqas) only¹.

Two other historical works of al-Dhahabī are extant. They are as follows :

- (i) Mukhtasar li Tārīkh Baghdād li Ibn al-Dubaythī a synopsis of the history of Baghdad according to Ibn al-Dubaythī (d.637/1239-40).
- (ii) Mukhtasar Akhbār al-Nahwiyyīn li Ibn al-Qiftī, a synopsis of Ibn al-Qiftī's (d. 646/1248-9) History of the Grammarians².

Al-Dhahabī also wrote some other works on historical literature. They are as follows :

- (i) Al-Tārīkh al-Mumattaʿ in six volumes. The work is an manuscript form³.

1. Ibid, PP. 215-16.

2. Ibid.

3. Cf. Ibn al-ʿImād al-Hanbalī, Shadhrat al-Dhahab , (Beyrūt: al-Maktab al-Tujjārī, n.d), Vol.vi, PP. 155-56.

- (ii) Kitāb Duwal al-Islām, published in two volumes.
- (iii) Kitāb al-ʿUbāb on history. The work is in MS.form.
- (iv) Al-ʿIlān bi wafayāt al-ʿAlām. The work is found in MS.form.

Al-Dhahabī also abridged a number of historical works. The following are to be mentioned :

- (i) Tārīkh Naysabūr of Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Hākim al-Naysābūrī, one volume.
- (ii) Tārīkh Misr of Abū Saīd b.Yunus.
- (iii) Kitāb al-Mustadrak written on ḥadīth literature by al-Hākim Abū ʿAbdallāh, in 2 volumes.
- (iv) Tārīkh Baghdād of Abū Bakr al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī in 2 volumes.
- (v) Tārīkh Dimashq of Abū al-Qāsim al-Hāfiẓ b.ʿAsākir in 10 volumes.
- (vi) Tārīkh Abī Sād b.al-Sumʿānī. It is a supplement of Tārīkh Ibn Jarīr al-Tabarī.
- (vii) Kitāb al-Ansāb of al-Sumʿānī.
- (viii) Tārīkh of al-Qaḍī Shams al-Dīn b.Khallikān.
- (ix) Tārīkh of al-ʿAllāma Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Shamma al-Halabī.
- (x) Tārīkh of al-Shaikh Qutub al-Dīn b.al-Yūninī. This work of al-yūninī is a supplement of Tārīkh Mirāt al-Zamān of Shams al-

al-Dīn Yūsuf known as Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī. These two books
(Nos. ix & x) are written on the events and years¹.

(xi) Tahdhīb al-Kamāl of al-Mizzī. Al-Dhahabī named his abridgement
as Tadhhīb al-Tahdhīb

(xii) Al-Dhahabī also abridged the Tahdhīb in one volume and named
it as al-Kāshif.

(xiii) He also abridged the Kitāb al-Atrāf of al-Mizzī.

(xiv) Al-Muḥallī of Ibn Ḥazam.

(xv) Kitāb al-Fārūq of Shāikh al-Islām al-Anṣārī and he corrected
it².

(xvi) Al-Dhahabī also abridged the Wafayāts of al-Mundḥarī and
Sharīf al-Nassābah.

1. Cf. Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, Fawāt al-Wafayāt (Egypt: Maktaba al-Nahḍa al-Miṣriyyah, 1951), vol.2, P.371; al-Dhahabī, Tārīkh al-Islām, Preface, PP.16-17.

2. Ibid, PP. 6 - 7.

CHAPTER-V

AL-DHĀHABĪ'S TĀRĪKH AL-ISLĀM: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

As we know that al-Dhahabī's Principal and longest work is his great general history entitled Tārīkh al-Islām (The History of Islām). This work, though well known and much referred to by both oriental and occidental scholars, has never yet been edited as a whole nor discussed at any length. The following parts of the Tārīkh al-Islām have hitherto been edited: (1) The biography of Ibn Rushd by J.E. Renan, *Averroes el'Averroisme*, Appendice iv, 2^e edition, Paris, 1861. (2) The biography of Abū al-ʿAlā al-Maʿarrī, which is more copious than that of Ibn Khallikān and also following different sources, has been edited from the MS. of the British Museum. No.1637 as an appendix to the Letters of Abū al-ʿAlā of Maʿarat al-Nuʿmān, by D.S. Margoliouth in the Anecdota Oxoniensia, Semitic Series (Oxford, 1898), PP.129-37. (3) The biography of Umarāʾ al-Yamānī is edited from the MS. of the British Museum, No.1639, by H. Derenbourg in his Oumara du yemen, Sa vie et son œuvre, tome ii, Paris, 1902, PP.491-5. (4) Short excerpts are printed in the notes to the Dhayl tārīkh Dimashq of Ibn al-Qalānisi, ed. H.F. Amedroz, Bayrut, 1908¹. Al-Dhahabī's Tārīkh al-Islām is printed together with his Tabaqāt al-Mashāhīr Wa al-ʿĀlām in 5 volumes at Cairo from 1367/1947 onwards by Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Qudsi. The entire book consists of 21 volumes². But al-Ziriklī says that the book consists of 36 volume, from which only 5 volumes are published³. Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī says that the book consists of 20

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1. Cf. Joseph De Semogyi, "The Tārīkh al-Islām of al-Dhahabī," The Royal Asiatic Society's Journal of Great Britain and Ireland (London, 1932), P.823, n-1.
 2. Cf. ʿUmar Riḍā Kaḥḥāla, Muʿjam al-Muallifīn (Bairut: Maktaba al-Muthanna, wa Dār Iḥyā al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, 1376/1957), vol.8, P.289; Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī, Kunūz al-Ajdād (Damascus: Maṭbaʿa al-Taraqī, 1370/1950),

20 volumes¹. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid opines that the book consists of 21 volumes². It was al-Dhahabī's most ambitious work. It is so large work that the MS. tradition is very irregular. Though there are over 50 MSS, most of them represent only parts of the work, and among them they do not cover the whole text. The decades A.H.131-40, 231-60, 281-300 are still missing; the decades A.H.141-70, 261-80, are extent only in part. The MSS of Aya Sophia Nos. 3005-14 are autographs of the author³. Now I like to evaluate and analysis al-Dhahabī's Tārīkh al-Islām in the following sections:

SECTION-"A"

The Manuscripts of the Tārīkh al-Islām

The Tārīkh al-Islām consisted of 21 volumes⁴. But according to Hājji Khalifa (No.2220) it consists of 12 volumes and Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī 20 volumes. It contains a general history upto A.H.700/A.D 1300, and was finished by al-Dhahabī by the year 741/1340, i.e. seven

P.371; Ibn al-ʿImād, Shadhrāt al-Dhahab (Bairūt: al-Maktab al-Tujjarī n.d)vol.iv, P.155; al-Dhahabī, Tārīkh al-Islām, ed. Husām al-Dīn al-Qudsī (Cario: Maktaba al-Qudsī, 1367/1948)vol.i, PP.6-7.

3. Cf. al-Zirikhlī, al-Aʿlām, 2nd edn. vol.6, P.22.

1. Cf. Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, Fawāt al-Wafayāt, ed. M. Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (Egypt: Maktaba al-Nahḍa al-Miṣriyya, 1951), vol.ii, P.371.
2. Cf. al-Dhahabī, Siyar al-Nubalāʾ, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid with a forwarding of Ṭaha Ḥusayn (Egypt: Dar al-Māʿarif, 1956), vol.i, PP. 31-6. Here the publisher placed a monograph of the 1st page of the 21st volume of al-Dhahabī's Tārīkh al-Islām, a manuscript copy of the book is available in Aya Sofia and the last page of the same volume.
3. Cf. G. Sarton, Introduction to the History of Science, vol.iii, PP. 964-5.

years before his death, which struck one of the later al-Dhahabī specialists, Ibn Qādī Shuhba (d. 851/1447), who said, "It is strange that he (al-Dhahabī) stopped in his Tārīkh al-Islām at the year 700 A.H. and did not continue it to the year 740 ^A.H., as he did in his al-ʿIbar, for it was continued in his presence by both al-Yūminī to his own time and al-Jazarī¹. The work was discovered part by part by Kamāl al-Dīn b.ʿAbd al-Wāhid b.ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Al-Zamlikanī who said "It is an illustrious book " His opinion was certainly not shared by one of the most prominent pupils of al-Dhahabī, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī according to whom "It would be an excellent work, if it were free from a certain bias². The work exists in a number of manuscripts contained in different European and Oriental libraries. The hitherto known manuscripts containing parts of the work are as follows³.

4. Al-Dhahabī, Tārīkh al-Islām, ed. Husām al-Dīn al-Qudsī, vol.i, PP.6-7.

1. Cf. Joseph De Somogyi, "The Tārīkh al-Islām of al-Dhahabī," The Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (London, 1932) P.824.

2. Cf. Al-Subkī, Ṭabaqāt al-Shafiyya al-Kubrā, 1st ed. (Egypt: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Ḥusayniyya n.d.), vol.5, P.217.

3. Cf. Brockelmann, GAL, vol.ii, P.46-7; Encyclopaedia of Islam "al-Dhahabī"; Iliyas Surkīs, Majmūʿa al-Maṭbūʿāt al-ʿArabiyya (Cairo, 1928); Hand-List, Cambridge, No.182; Supp.Cat. of the British Museum, No.468; List, British Museum, since 1894, Or 48 and Or.5578, the hand written list of Oriental Mss. of the British Museum from 1911-, J.Horevitz, Aus den Bibliotheken von Kairo, Damaskus and Konstantinopel, Berlin, 1907 (Mitteil, d. Sem. f. Orient, Spr.), PP.0-13; O.Spiesz, Op.cit, PP.70-2.

- (1) Cambridge (Browne), vol.i, No.182: the beginning, down to the death of the Prophet(s).
- (2) Fayḍullah, No.1480; Vol.i, A.H. 1-11.
- (3) Aya Sophia, No.3005; Vol.ii, A.H. 1-29.
- (4) Kopruluzade, No.1015: Pt. i, A.H. 1-40.
- (5) Paris, No.1580: vol.i, A.H.1-40, (and not 1880 as given by Bröckelmann, Loc. cit., and Horovitz, Loc.cit).
- (6) Dr.Lae, No.71: vol.i, A.H. 1-40.
- (7) Tunis (Mosque of Zaytuna, Catalogue of B.Roy), No.4830: vol.i the life of Muḥammad and the political narrative of A.H.3-10, copied from the autograph.
- (8) Aya Sophia, No.3016: A.H. 41-120.
- (9) Bodleian Library (Ury), No.652: A.H. 41-130.
- (10) Tunis (Mosque of Zaytuna, Catalogue of B.Roy), No.4831: vol.vi, A.H.40-130.
- (11) Kopruluzade, No.1016: Pt. iv, A.H. 51-80.
- (12) Kopruluzade, No.1018 (thus on the first page; in the margin outside, No.1019): A.H.81-110, the biographies of the decade A.H. 100-110 are only given as far as 'Abd al-Raḥmān b.Jabir b.'Abdallah al-Anṣārī.
- (13) Gotha (Pertsch), No.1563: A.H.143-5 (And not 1573, as given by Brocklemann, Loc.cit).
- (14) British Museum, Or. 9256 (not yet catalogued): A.H.151-70, from the XVIth Class only the biographies from the letter Za to the

end are given, from the XVIIth Class only the general narrative and biographies as far as Daud al-Tay, according to a note on fol. 110 it is an autograph of al-Şafadī.

- 15) Strasbourg (Spitta), No.12: A.H. 161-80, of which A.H. 161-70 is incomplete.
- 16) Aya Sophia, No.3006: A.H. 180-200: the beginning is
- 17) Cairo, vol.v, P.21: A.H.181-200: according to fol.162 it is an autograph dated in A.H.726.
- 18) Bodleian Library (Ury), No.659: A.H. 191-200.
- 19) Aya Sophia, No.3007: vol.viii, A.H.201-30.
- 20) Kopruluzade, No.1017: Pt.xiii, A.H.266-80; the title and the beginning are wanting, the biographies of A.H.271-80 only extend to Muhammad b. Yūsuf b.İsa.
- 21) British Museum, Or.48: A.H. 301-50.
- 22) Kopruluzade, No.1019: Pt. xv, A.H. 301-50, without the biographies of A.H.341-50.
- 23) Paris, No.1581: vol.vi, A.H.301-400 (but according to Brocklemann and Horovitz, Loc.cit., only till A.H. 370).
- 24) Gotha (Pertsch), No.1564: vol.vii, A.H.351-400; it breaks off among the biographies of A.H.399.
- 25) British Museum, No.1636: vol.xii, A.H.351-400.
- 26) Aya Sophia, No.3008: vol.xii, A.H.351-400; it only contains the biographies.

- 27) British Museum, No.1637: vol.xiii, A.H.401-50.
- 28) Aya Sophia, No.3009: vol.xii(Sic 1), A.H.401-50.
- 29) British Museum, No.1638: Vol.xiv, A.H.451-90.
- 30) Umumiyya, No.5015: A.H.451-700 i.e. to the end of the work.
- 31) Munich, Nr. 378: A.H.487-90 and A.H.501-50.
- 32) Cario, vol.v, P.22: A.H.500-30, it only contains the biographis.
- 33) Aya Sophia, No.3010: vol.xv, A.H.501-50; the general narrative is complete, the biographis, however, extend only to A.H.596.
- 34) Boddeian Library (Ury), No.649: A.H.531-80.
- 35) British Museum, Or. 5578: A.H.551-70, copied from the autograph.
- 36) British Museum, No.1639: Vol.xiv, A.H.561-80: the first decade is incomplete, only comprising A.H.563-70.
- 37) Aya Sophia, No.3015: A.H.571-700.
- 38) British Museum, No.1640: vol.xvii and xviii, A.H.581-610 the general narrative to A.H.620.
- 39) Paris, No.1582: Perhaps vol.x, A.H.581-620, with a gap between fols. 128 and 129.
- 40) Aya Sophia, No.3021: vol.xviii, A.H.601-20.
- 41) Aya Sophia, No.3012: vol.xix, A.H.621-40, the general narrative to A.H.650.
- 42) Bodleian Library (Ury) No.654: A.H.621-60.
- 43) Aya Sophia, No.3013, vol.xx, A.H.651-70, the biographies from A.H. 641 onwards.

- 44) Kopruluzade, No.1018(continuation of the MS.quoted under No.12): A.H.656-70, the general narrative of A.H.656 and the biographies of A.H.661-80 are not contained.
- 45) Bodleian Library(Ury),No.656: A.H.661-700, the general narrative only to A.H.680.
- 46) Aya Sophia,No.3014 : xxi, A.H.671-700.
- 47) British Museum, No.1641:Vol.xxii, A.H.681-90, it only contains biographies.
- 48) Koprutuzade, No.1020: Pt. xxxvi,A.H.681-700, the biographies only from A.H.686 onwards.
- 49) British Museum, Supplement,No.486: A.H.681-700, the general narrative from A.H.691.
- 50) British Museum, Or. 7967(not yet catalogued): four fragments containing biographies from A.H.687-88, 690,691-5, 691, corresponding to parts of British Museum, No.1641 and British Museum, supplement, No.486.
- 51) Seray, No.2910: in twenty-three volumes.
- 52) Damadzade Qadī 'Askar Muḥammad Murād, No.1433: an unidentified volume of the work.

Kopruluzade, No.1021,though denoted by a later hand as Tarikh al-Islām lā.al-Dhahabī which title is preceded by the word dhayl by a still later hand, is no part of our work,but as seen from its concluding words - part of the Mukhtasar fī tāriḫ al-bashar of Abū al-Fidā¹

1. Cf. Horovitz, op.cit., P.11.

From the Mss. quoted above Aya Sophia, Nos.3005-16 comprise parts of two copies: Nos. 3005-14 being parts of one copy and Nos.3015-16 those of another copy. Nos.3005-14 are autographs of al-Dhahabī himself and must therefore be considered in the first place for a possible edition of the Tārīkh al-Islām.

From the Mss hitherto known we can fairly well-reconstruct the whole Tārīkh al-Islām, except the decades A.H.131-40, 231-60, 281-300. The decades A.H. 141-70 and 261-80 are extant only in part.

Like many other Arabic works on general history, al-Dhahabī's work was also continued by different later hands. We know of the following continuations of the Tārīkh al-Islām :

- (1) A continuation comprising the biographies of A.H.701-40 by al-Dhahabī himself; it is in Leiden, No.765.
- (2) A continuation by al-Yuninī (d. 726/1326): non-existing².
- (3) A continuation by al-Jazarī (d. 833/1429); non-existing³.
- (4) A continuation by Abū al-Faḍl 'Abd al-Rahīm al-'Irāqī (d.806/1404); non-existing, it comprised A.H. 701-61.⁴
- (5) A continuation of the work of 'Abd al-Rahīm al-'Iraqi by his son Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Rahīm al-'Iraqī (d. 826/1423), comprising A.H. 762-86; it is in Kopruluzade, No.1081⁵.

1. Cf. Horovitz, Op.cit., P.11.

2. Cf. Hājji Khalīfa, No.2220.

3. Ibid.

4. Cf. Brockelmann, GAL, Vol.ii, P.65. Bankipore Cat., vol.v, Part ii, No.442; Horovitz, Op.cit, P.12.

5. Cf. Brockelmann, Op.cit, vol.ii, P.67: Bankipore Cat., vol.v, part No.318.

- (6) A continuation by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba (d. 851/1447) entitled al-ʿIlām bi-Tārīkh al-Islām, which exists in the following MSS:¹ Bodleian Library (Ury), No.721: A.H.691-740; Paris, Nos.1598-1600: A.H. 741-80; Kopruluzade, No.1027; A.H. 689-791; Faiddullah, No.1403: A.H.600-90².

Owing to the voluminous character of the Tārīkh al-Islām, many abridged editions were made of it. As a matter of fact, there is hardly any other Arabic work on general history which has more mukhtasar than the Tārīkh al-Islām. These abridged editions were known even earlier than the great work itself and have always been in general use as concise and reliable works of reference. Some of them were made by al-Dhahabī himself and others by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, Ibn al-Shāmma and Ildukuz al-Ayyūbī. According to their subject matter, these compendiums are to be divided into two classes: (1) those containing both general narrative and obituary records, such as the Kitāb Duwal al-Islām known as al-Tārīkh al-Saghīr (Little History) and the Kitāb al-ʿIbar fī Akhbār manʿabar (Ghabar) known as al-Tārīkh al-Aswat or al-Mutawassit (Medium History) by the author himself, or (2) biographical compendiums, such as the Tabaqāt al-Huffāz, Tabaqāt al-Qurrāʾ, and Siyar al-Nubalāʾ by al-Dhahabī himself.³

1. Cf. Hājjī Khalīfa, Kashf al-Zunūn, Nos.951 and 2098; Spiesz, op.cit, P.71, Ammerkung I.
2. Spiesz, Op.cit, P.71, also quotes Kopruluzade, No.1189, as a continuation of the Tārīkh al-Islām by al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497), but, as its title shows (Wajīz al-Kalām fī Dhayl Duwal al-Islām), it is a continuation of the Duwal al-Islām of al-Dhahabī.
3. For the compendiums of the Tārīkh al-Islām, see, Joseph De Somogyi's paper in the Islamica, Leipzig (1932), PP.334-53. O. Spiesz also mentions a Muntakhab al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr, a MS of which is in Weli

The more enumeration of these well-known works can testify the great literary value of their source, the *Tarikh al-Islam*.

We may suppose that such an important work was also translated into other oriental languages. At least the existence of a persian translation was proved by Petis de la Croix, who at the end of his work, *Histoire du Grand Genghizcan* (Paris, 1710), enumerates his authorities on the history of the Mongols, among which he mentions a persian translation of an extract entitled *Intikhab al-Salatin* from the *Tarikh al-Islam* of al-Dhahabi¹. This extract treats of the fourth class of the second order of the Kings", i.e. of the Mongol Kings, "The first of whom had been the great Chengiz Khan and the Kings of Persia of the race, the first of whom had been Hulaku, his grandson". According to Petis de la Croix, this book was written in 757/1536. This date is evidently wrong, because it is the year A.D. 1536 and not 1536 that corresponds to A.H.757. Supposed that this hijra-date is correct, this persian translation had been made at a very early date after the death of al-Dhahabi. It must have comprised only that part of the *Tarikh al-Islam* which included the history of the Mongols, i.e. roughly the seventh century A.H. Unfortunately we know nothing particular of this translation of the *Tarikh al-Islam*, except the reference of Petis de la Croix. But even

No.2449, it treats in three classes: (1) of the compendiums of Muhammad and of the Tābiūn; (2) of the fuqahā' and 'ulamā'; (3) of the hukamā' and Aṭibbā', including also the Greck philosophers, op.cit, P.73.

1. Cf. Petis de la Croix, Histoire du Grand Genghizcan (Paris, 1710), P.550.

this is significant of the great importance of al-Dhahabī's work¹.

SECTION-B'

An Analysis of the Tārīkh al-Islām

As its title implies, the Tārīkh al-Islām treats of the history of Islām only: it begins with the geneology of Muḥammad and does not deal with the earlier period of history. It therefore, does not follow the scheme of Arabic works on general history which start with the Creation, then proceed to the history of Adam, of the of the Prophets and of the ancient peoples (specially the Jews and the Persians), and then give the genealogy of Muḥammad and the history of Islām. This is the scheme adopted by al-Ṭabarī and followed by Ibn al-Aṭḥīr, al-Masūdī, and other historians, and also by Ibn al-Jawzī; this latter expressly indicates in the title of his kitāb al-Muntazam that it is a general history (Akhbār al-Mulūk wa al-'Umam) and not merely an Islamic history.

Notwithstanding this, al-Dhahabī adopted the general scheme of the Kitāb al-Muntazam in his Tārīkh al-Islām. His work, like that of Ibn al-Jawzī, is also both a general history and a collection of biographies, with this essential difference, however, that he does not give the biographical records in the same chapter together with the general narrative as Ibn al-Jawzī does, but he

1. Brockelmann, GAL, Vol.ii, P.67 mentions also a Tarkish translation of the Tārīkh al-Islām in Berlin (Turkischer Katalog, No.192). This is, however, the Turkish translation of another work on general history, the al-Bidāya wa al-Nihāya of Ibn Kathīr al-Dimashqī (d. 774/1372).

entirely separates both parts from one another. Both the general narrative (al-hawādīth al-Kāina) and the biographies (al-Mutawaffūn) are divided into classes (tabaqat) of ten years so that the whole work consists of seventy classes beginning with A.H.1 and ending with A.H.700. The classes of the general narrative come first, subdivided into the years of each decade, and followed as separate parts of the work by the classes of the biographies¹. These latter are equally subdivided into the years of each decade and completed generally by a separate chapter giving the biographies of those whose dates of death could not be stated exactly but can be approximately ranked into one decade (entitled Dhikru man tuwuffiya bāda sanatin... taqrībān wa ilā Sanatin...). The relation of the general narrative to the biographies is rather unequal, the former comprises one-sixth or one-seventh of the thick manuscript volumes and the remaining space is devoted to the biographies.

SECTION- 'C'

General Narrative (Hawādīth) of it

In the general narrative al-Dhahabī follows the example of the former historians, subdividing with the words "Wa fihā" ("and in this, Sc. year"). There is, however, a substantial difference between the subject matter of the general narrative of the first three centuries and that of the following four centuries. In the

-
1. In several manuscript volumes all the classes of the general narrative are grouped together and are followed by all the classes of the biographies.

first three centuries A.H. the records are very short, not detailed, and only give the gist of the matter. They can be styled a concise compendium of the Tārīkh al-Rusul wal-mulūk of al-Ṭabarī, the general use of which was so common and well - Known that al-Dhahabī considered it superfluous to give a detailed narrative of the events in this period. Usually there is a short enumeration of the more notable persons who died in the year in question - they are always recorded in full among the biographies - then there follows, as a rule, the mention of the leaders of the annual pilgrimage, though sometimes this is put to the end of the general narrative. Last are recorded the political events well known from al-Ṭabarī.

Of a different character is the general narrative of the last four centuries (A.H. 301-700). The records are of considerable length, with constant references to the authority consulted by al-Dhahabī, which clearly shows his intention of writing a continuation of al-Ṭabarī's work. For this reason the scheme of the general narrative of this second post Ṭabarī, period of the Tārīkh al-Islām is different from that of the first period. First came the detailed records of political history, then follow, as a rule, those of local history and administrative affairs, those of Baghdād and Damascus are specially well recorded. Together with the latter are recorded the so-called ajāib or strange things), : the curiosities and striking phenomena of the year and then the leaders of the pilgrimage from Baghdad and Damascus, followed by a short enumeration of the more notable persons who died in the year in question¹.

1. Cf. Joseph de Somogyi, "The Tārīkh al-Islām of al-Dhahabī"

The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain (1932), PP. 831-32.

In drawing up this system al-Dhahabī entirely adopted that of Ibn al-Jawzī in his Kitāb al-Muntazam. Like his illustrious master, he also makes a point of quoting his authorities, whereby we can reliably state what sources he consulted in compiling his general narrative.

In order to present a clear account of the literary value of the *Tarikh al-Islam* we give a concise enumeration of the events which are either not recorded in Ibn al-Athīr's al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh or are recorded also from 1-300, also recorded in al-Ṭabarī. The additional authorities mentioned in the narrative of al-Dhahabī are put in parenthesis; where none are mentioned the possible authorities are likely to be either Ibn al-Jawzī or Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī¹.

(a) Political history:

A.H.301: al-Khāqānī was taken prisoner by the Caliph al-Muqtadir. Ḥallāj was imprisoned (more detailed than al-Ṭabarī, iii, P.2289). Abū Saīd al-Jannabī was murdered (Thābit b. Sinān). Al-Mahdī's army was sent to Egypt (al-Musabbihī).

A.H.302: Ibn al-Jassās was captured (Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Tanūkhī).

A.H.305: al-Muqtadir received the legate of the Romans (Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī).

A.H.306: death of Abū al-ʿAbbās b. Sārij² (al Dāraquṭnī).

A.H.309: execution of Ḥallāj, his biography (Ibn Bākūyā al-Shērāzī, Abū al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Minādī, Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Tanūkhī, Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī, ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Ḥasib, Ibn Hauqal, Ibn al-Jawzī, Thābit b. Sinān, al-Sullāmī: Tārīkh).

1. The MSS. consulted are those of the British Museum and the Bodleian Library.

2. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, vol. viii, P.85, gives his name as Sārij.

A.H.311 : removal of Ḥamīd b. al-ʿAbbās from the Wazirate. The vilayat of Ibn al-Furāt (al-Maṣūdi).

A.H. 314: The Qarmatians in Iraq (Thābit b.Sinān).

A.H. 317 : the Qarmatians in Baghdād (Thābit b.Sinān), and in Makka (Abū Bakr Muḥammad b.ʿAlī b. al-Qāsim al-Dhahabī. Muḥammad al-Iṣfahānī, al-Simnānī: Tārīkh, al-Qilawī, Muḥammad b. al-Rabīʿ b. Sulaymān al-Marāghī).

A.H. 320: rule of Muḥis in Mansil, assassination of al-Muqtadir (al-Ṣūlī, Thābit b.Sinān, Ishāq b.Ismāʿīl al-Naubakhtī).

A.H. 322: deposition of al-Qāhir billah; caliphate of al-Rādī billah (Thābit b.Sinān, al-Qādī Aby al-Husayn, Maḥmūd al-Iṣfahānī, al-Ṣūlī, Muhammad b.ʿAlī al. Khurāsānī, al-Maṣūdi). Death of al-Mahdī ʿUbaydallah, lord of Egypt (al-Qādī ʿAbd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad b.ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Basri, Ibn al-Bāqillānī: Kaṣḥf al-Asrār al-Bāṭiniyya, Ibn Khallikān, an anonymous Tārīkh al-Qayrawānī).

A.H.324 : arrest of Ibn Muqla (Thābit b.Sinān).

A.H.326 : the hands of Ibn Muqla were cut off (Thābit b.Sinān).

A.H.329 : death of al-Radī billah (al-Ṣūlī), Caliphate of al-Muqtafi billah (al-Ṣūlī, Thābit b.Sinān).

A.H. 332 : death of Abū ʿAbdallah al-Buraydī (Ibn Ḥamdān al-Ṭabīb).

A.H.333 : al-Muḥtaqī's meeting with Tuzun (al-Maṣūdi).

A.H. 334: al-Qāsim b.al-Qāsim lord of Maghrib (al-Qādī ʿIyād).

A.H. 335 : Sayf al-Dawla's fight with Abū al-Muẓaffar Ḥasan b. Ṭughj (al-Musabbihī).

A.H.339 : the Black stone was taken back to Makka(al-Musabbihī).

A.H.340 : the Black Stone was put back to its old place in Makka (Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad b.Nāfi' al- Khuzaī).

A.H.342: On Aḥmad b.al-Hunād (Abū Jāfar Aḥmad b.ʿAunallah al-Qurṭabī, Abū ʿUmar al-Zalimnākī).

A.H.343 : fight between Anujur b.al-Ikhshīd and Kāfūr.

A.H.356 : death of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir lord of Andalus.

A.H.351 : the chronological work of al-Ṣābi (Thābit b.Sinān). Death of the Wazīr al-Muhallabī (ʿAlī b.Muḥammad al-Shimshaṭī: tārīkh).

A.H.352 : day of jubilee ordered by Muʿizz al-Dawla (Thābit b.Sinān, al-Tanūkhī).

A.H.355 : Sayf al-Dawla's fights and truce with the Romans.

A.H. 356 : death of Muʿizz al-Dawla (Abū al-Qāsim al-Tanūkhī).

A.H. 357 : death of Naṣīr al-Dawla. Revolt of Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad b.al-Mustakfī against al-Muṭaḍḍad.

A.H. 362 : al-Damastaq was taken prisoner.

A.H. 363 : illness of al-Muṭīʿ billah and caliphate of al-Tai li Amr Allah (Abū Maṣṣūr b.ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-ʿUkbarī). Muḥammad b.Ṣāliḥ al-Hāshimī new chief Qādī of Baghdād; the document of the caliph conferring on him this dignity.

A.H.367 : fight between Hafteghin (هفتکین) and the ʿUbaydis.

A.H. 368 : by order of al-Tai li Amr Allah honours were given to ʿAdud al-Dawlah (Ibn al-Jawzī).

A.H.369 : the legate of 'Azīz billah with 'Aḍud al-Dawlah; closer relations between the latter and al-Tai li Amr Allah (a Qaṣīda by Abū Ishāq al-Ṣābi).

A.H.370 : 'Aḍud al-Dawlah's meeting with al-Tai li amr Allah in Baghdād (Alī b.'Abd al-'Azīz).

A.H.372 : on Abū 'Umar Aḥmad b.Muḥammad b.Sā'id b.al-Andalusi al-Faqīh (al-Ḥumaydī).

A.H.379 : flight of al-Qādir billah from al-Tai li Amr Allah (more detailed than Ibn al-Aṭhīr, vol.ix, PP.45-6).

A.H.381 : Caliphate of al-Qādir billah (Hilāl al-Ṣābi, Muḥammad b.'Abd al-Malik al-Hamdānī, Abū Bakr al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī).

A.H. 388 : some verses on the Buyides (Abū Mansūr al-Tha'ālibī).

A.H. 392 : Muḥammad b.Sabuktighin's campaign in India (Abū al-Faṭḥ al-Bustī).

A.H. 395 : a detailed account on the end of the Samanid dynasty from the time of the conquest of Bukhara by Ilek Khān till their end which is put by al-Dhahabī in this year (more detailed than Ibn al-Aṭhīr, vol.ix, pp. 133-4, Abū Tammām).

A.H.398: the order of al-Ḥākin b.Amr Allah for the destruction of the Chrush of the Holy Sepulchre (more detailed than Ibn al-Aṭhīr, vol.ix, p.147). Sedition in Andalusin).

A.H. 403: burial of the daughter of Abū Nūḥ al-Tayyib. The carriage of wooden crosses was ordered by al-Ḥākim bi amr Allah for the Christians.

A.H.404 : Fakhr al-Malik's meeting with the Caliph at Baghdād.
Al-Hākim's new oppressive measures. The fight of the Turk Tughay with the Chinese.

A.H. 405 : al-Hākim's measures against women.

A.H. 409 : Maḥmūd b. Sabuktighin's campaign in India (al-ʿUtbī: Tārīkh).

A.H. 410 : Maḥmūd b. Sabuktighnin's campaign in India.

A.H. 411 : disappearance of al-Hākim bi Amr Allah (more detailed than Ibn al-Athīr, vol. ix, pp.221-2). Death of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, successor of al-Hākim (Abū Yālā Hamza).

A.H.413 : damage to the Kāba done by some Egyptians (Hilāl al-Ṣābī, Ibn al-Tursī).

A.H. 414: Maḥmūd b. Sabuktighin's campaign in India (more detailed than Ibn al-Athīr, vol. ix, p. 234).

A.H. 418 : Maḥmūd b. Sabuktighin's campaign in India.

A.H. 420 : reports on the Batinites in khurāsān, Quarrels between Mutazilites and Rafidis (Abū al- Hasan al-Zaynabī).

A.H.423 : revolt of the Turks against Jalāl al-Dawlah (more detailed than Ibn al-Athīr, vol. ix, p.288).

A.H. 424 : expulsion of Jalāl al-Dawlah from Baghdād and his return there (more detailed than Ibn al-Athīr, vol. ix, pp.293-4).

A.H. 427 : revolt of the army against Jalāl al- Dawlah (more detailed than Ibn al-Athīr, vol. ix, pp.303).

A.H. 429 : Jalāl al-Dawlah claimed for himself, the title of Malik al-Mulūk (Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Imām Aḥmad).

A.H.430: Jalāl al-Dawlah assumed the title of al-Malik al-ʿAzīz.

A.H.433 : promulgation of the so-called itiqad al-Qādirī in the dīwān.

A.H. 445 : arrival of the Ghuzz at Ḥalwān. Excommunication of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Aṣḥārī in Naysābūr (Abū al-Qāsim al-Qushayrī).

A.H. 450 : return of Basasīrī to Baghdād (al-Qilawī: Tārīkh).

A.H.451 : capture of Baghdād by al-Basasīrī; flight of the Caliph al-Qāim bi amr Allah.

A.H. 464 : Nizām al-Mulk 's fight in Fāris.

A.H. 469 : campaign of Atsiz in Egypt (Ḥibat Allah b. Aḥmad al-Akḥḥānī), Ibn al-Qalanīsī.

A.H. 478 : seize of Toledo by the Franks (more detailed than Ibn al-Aṭṭār, vol. x, PP.92-3).

A.H. 485 : fights of the Muslims with the Franks in Andalusia (Alyasa b. Khadm). The Sultān of Yaman in Baghdād (Sibt Ibn al-Jawzī).

A.H.491 : Capture of Antiochia (Sibt Ibn al-Jawzī, Ibn al-Qalanīsī). Discontent of the army against Barkiyaruq (Ibn al-Qalanīsī).

A.H. 492 : Capture of Jerusalem by the Crusaders (Sibt Ibn al-Jawzī, Ibn al-Qalanīsī).

A.H. 494 : appearance of the Bāṭinites in ʿIrāq. (Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Ghazālī : Sirr al-alamayn). Intervention of Qiliġ Arslān in the fight of the crusaders against the Turks (Usāma b. Munqidh).

A.H. 495 : fights of Sanjil (St. Giles) (Sibt Ibn al-Jawzī).

A.H.498 : death of Sanjil.

A.H. 500 : assassination of Ibn ʿAṭṭāsh (Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b.ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sinjābī).

A.H.552 : Muḥammad Shāh Maḥmūd in Bagḥdād. Nūr al-Dīn's fight with the crusaders (Ibn al-Qalanisī).

A.H. 553 : fights with the Ghuzz in Khurāsān (Ibn al-Jawzī).

A.H. 554 : fights of Nūr al-Dīn (Ibn al-Qalanisī). Death of Muḥammad Shāh b. al-Sultān Maḥmūd al-Dīn (Ibn Tūmart).

A.H. 563 : Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's fights with the crusaders (Ibn al-Shaddād). Death of Asad al-Dīn (Ibn Wāṣil). Campaign of the Crusaders against Cairo(al-Ammād).

A.H. 566 : death of al-Mustanjid billah (Ibn al-Jawzī).Battle with the crusaders at Dimyat (al-Ammād).

A.H. 567 : fights of Nūr al-Dīn and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in Egypt (al-Ammād).

A.H. 569 : al-Muwaffaq b. al-Faysarni sent legates to Egypt(Ibn Abī Tayy). Movement of the Shīʿites; execution of Umarā' al-yamanī (Ibn Wāṣil al-Ammād).

A.H.571 : fights round Makka (Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Qilawī: Tārīkh). Fights of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and Nūr al-Dīn (Ibn Abī Tayy).

A.H.572 : report on al-Malik al-ʿAdil (Sibt Ibn al-Jawzī).Report on Qaraqush (Ibn Wāṣil).

A.H.573 : the preaching of Ibn al-Jawzī in Bagḥdād(Ibn al-Jawzī).

A.H. 575 : the Franks round Ramla. Tashteghin was invested with the khila, Report on the Mamlūks (al-Buzuri, al-Tamīmī).

A.H. 576 : the Sultān in Alexandria (al-Ammād).

A.H. 579 : the victory of the Romans predicted from the Qurʾān by Majd al-Dīn b.Jahbal al-Ḥalabī (Abū Shāma).

A.H.582: Taghteghin, brother of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn at Macca(al-Buzurī). The assassination of Ibn Bayson by the Ismailitis (ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī).

A.H.583 fights of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Ibn al-Shaddād, al-Ammād, al-Jawānī, Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī).

A.H. 584: Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's conquests in Syria (al-Ammād, Sibṭ al-Jawzī). Meeting of the Sultan Tughrulshah and the Wazīr Jalāl al-Dīn b. Yūnus (al-Buzarī, Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī). Fights with the Crusaders (Ibn Shaddād, al-Ammād, Ibn Wāṣil).

A.H. 586: fights with the Crusaders (ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī, Hatim).

A.H.587: fights with the Crusaders (Ibn al-Shaddād, Sirat Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, al-Buzurī).

A.H. 589: Ḥiṣn al-Jīl redeemed by the Crusaders (Abū Shama, al-Ammād). Report on al-Afdal (Ibn Wāṣil).

A.H. 591: rule of Muwayyad al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Qasāʾib in Hamadhān (al-Buzurī, Ibn Wāṣil). Arrival of al-Malik al-ʿAzīz at Damascus (Abū Shama).

A.H. 592 : al-Malik al-ʿAzīz at Damascus (Abū Shama).

A.H. 593 : Victory of al-Malik al-ʿAdil at Yafa (Abū Shama).

A.H. 594: Ibn al-Jawzī released from the prison of Wāsiṭ and pardoned. Meeting of Bahā al-Dīn and Ghiyāth al-Dīn (al-Buzurī).

A.H. 596 : Clash of the armies of al-Malik al-ʿAdil and al-Afdal (Ibn Wāṣil, al-Buzurī).

A.H.597: Ghiyāth al-Dīn and Shihāb al-Dīn left Ghazna for Khurāsān (al-Buzurī).

A.H. 600: Nūr al-Dīn's victory at Tell Afar (Sibt Ibn al-Jawzī).
The Franks at Halab (Ibn Wāṣil).

A.H.601 : excludsion of the son of al-Naṣīr li Dīn Allah from the succession (Abū Shāma). Fights with the crusaders in Syria(al Fārisī: Tārīkh).

A.M. 604 : Ayyūb b. al-Malik al-ʿĀdil's reign in Khilat(Ibn Wāṣil).

A.H. 605: Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī in Rusayla (Abū Shāma).
Khwārizmshāh conquered Herāt, his fights with Chingiz Khān; the Tātārs (ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī : Khabar al-Tātār, al-Nasawī).

A.H. 607: reunion of the princes with al-Malik al-ʿĀdil. Nūr al-Dīn's gift to his son. Report on Ibn al-Duhayra. Al-Bāl al-Qubrasī's expedition from Acre to Dimyāt.

A.H.608 : Muslim Victory at Toledo.

A.H. 609: revolt of Sama in Egypt (Abū Shāma). Marriage of al-Malik al-Zāhir with the daughter of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil. Muslim Victory in Andalusia.

A.H. 610: Khwārizmshāh escaped from his captivity with the Tātārs. Birth of a son to al-Malik al-ʿAzīz in Halab (Ibn Wāṣil).

A.H. 611: expedition of the Franks against the Ismāʿīlites (Abū Shāma). Reign of al-Malik al-Maṣūd b. Kāmil in Yaman. Expedition of the Amīr of Madīna against Qatada the lord of Macca. Fights with the Tātārs and the Assassins.

A.H.614: Legation of the Qādī Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sa'īd al-Khwārizmī in Baghdād (Abū Shāma).

A.H. 615: al-Malik al-Ādil's fights with the Crusaders (Ibn Wāsil). Al-Malik al-Ashraf's Victory over the Romans (Abū Shāma). Reception by Khwārizmshāh of the legates of Chingiz Khān in Naysābūr (al-Muayyad 'Imād al-Dīn : Tārīkh).

A.H.616 : evacuation of Khwārizm by Turkhān Khātūn.¹ Devastation of Jerusalem by al-Mu'azzam (a poem by Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abdullah Qādī al-Taur). The Crusaders captured Dimyat (Sa'īd al-Dīn Sa'īd b.al-Hamāwiyya, Abū Shāma, Ibn Wāsil).

A.H.617 : Muẓaffar al-Dīn's Victory over Badr al-Dīn al-Lūlū at Arbil. Appearance of the Tātārs in Central Asia (al-Nasawī, 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī, Ibn Wāsil).

A.H.618: Clash between the armies of Chingiz Khān and Jalāl al-Dīn b.Khwārizmshāh (Ibn Wāsil). Meeting of al-Malik al-Mu'azzam with his brother (Abū Shāma).

A.H. 619: encounter of Jalāl al-Dīn b.Khwārizmshāh with Shams al-Dīn Itmish.

A.H.620 : meeting of al-Malik al-Ashraf with al-Mu'azzam (Abū Shāma).

A.H. 622 : the Tātārs took Tiflis (Abū Shāma).

A.H: 623 : death of al-Zāhir billah, Caliphate of al-Mustansir billah (Ibn al-Shārii).

1.Cf. The more copious record of al-Nasawī, ed. Houdas, PP.38-42.

A.H.624 : the legate of the Crusaders with al-Malik al-Mu'azzam.

A.H.626 : the Crusaders took Jerusalem (Abū Shāma).

A.H.627 : the taking of Bāalbakk (Abū Shāma). Defeat of the Khwārizmits at Khilāt (ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī).

A.H.628 : fights in Maghrib between the Banū ʿAbd al-Mūmin and the Maghribis.

A.H. 629 : advance of the Tātārs in Adharbayjān.

A.H.630 : the taking of Āmid. Rājih b. Qatārim marched against Macca. Fights round Arbil.

A.H. 632 : ʿUmar b. Rasūl's reign in Yaman. Introduction of the new coins of al-Mustanṣir billah (al Muwaffaq Abū al-Maʿālī al-Qāsim b. Abī al-Hudayd).

A.H.633 : advance of the Tātār from Arbil to Mawṣil. Cordoba was taken by the Franks (Abū Hayyān, Ibn Abbār).

A.H.634 : Pigeon - post from Rukn al-Dīn in Mawṣil to Sharaf al-Dīn in Baghdād. Truce between al-Kāmil and the Romans.

A.H. 635 : The Tātārs in Daqūqā, their clash with Jalāl al-Dīn. Al-ʿAdil Sultān of Egypt.

A.H. 639 : fights with the Tātārs (Sād Allah).

A.H. 640 : the Tātārs took Erzerun (Ibn al-Ḥamawiyya).

A.H. 641: Victory of the Tātārs over the Saljūqs of Rūm.

A.H. 642 : advance of the Tātārs in Transoxania (Sād al-Dīn : Tārīkh). The Tatars in Shahrazūr.

A.H. 643: The Egyptian Muayyad al-Dīn's Campaign against Damascus (Sād al-Dīn Ibn al-Ḥamawiyya, Abū Shāma). Advance of Tātārs to Bāfizba.

A.H.644 : hostility between al-Mu'azzam and al-Malik al-Muza'ffar (Sa'd al-Dīn Ibn al-Hamawīyya). Al-Musta'ṣim billah gave dowries to his sons (Ibn al Sā'ī). Two legates of the Tātārs with the Muslims. The crusaders took Xativa.

A.H. 645 : The Sultān Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb took the fortress of al-Ṣabība (Sa'd al-Dīn Ibn al-Hamāwīyya). The fortress of Shahīmas was taken from al-Ashraf by the Sultān Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb.

A.H.647 : al-Amjad Hasan b. al-Nāṣir in Egypt. The Crusaders took Dimāt (Ibn al-Sā'ī). 'Alī al-Arbilī marched against Baghdād.

A.H. 648 : battle of the crusaders at al-Manṣūra (Sa'd al-Dīn: Tārīkh, Jalāl al-Dīn b.Matruh, Ibn Israili). Clash between Izz al-Din al-Turkimani and the Yamrites; death of Taj al-Muluk (Sad al-Din). Death of al-Muazzam (Ibn al-Sai).

A.H. 651 : Peace between al-Malik al-Nāṣir and Egyptians. Hulākū Khān, after crossing the Arghum, marched to Khurāsān. Al-Malik al-Nāṣir occupied 'Akkā and Ṣaydā

A.H.652 : appearance of a Kharijites in Maghrib pretending to be al-Mustansir billah. Al-Malik al-Nāṣir married the daughter of Kayqubādḥ, Sultān of Rūm. Plundering of Oqtāy in al-Ṣāmid (Shams al-Dīn al-Jazarī). Victory of the Lord of Mawṣil over the 'Adawīs.

A.H.653 : Clash between al-Malik al-Nāṣir and al-Malik al-Mu'izz. In a separate chapter : enumeration of the names of the Yamrites.

A.H. 654 : enumeration of the kings of that time. Hulākū marched against Rayy.

A.H.655 : death of al-Malik al-Mu'izz. Tātār Legates in Baghdād. Appearance of the Haydariyya in Syria. Campaign of al-Mughīth in Egypt (Ibn Wāsil). The Tātārs in Mawṣil Sād al-Dīn Khadhar b. Hamawiyy's misfortune (from his own Tārīkh). Hulākū marched from Hamadhān to Baghdād.

A.H. 656: the Tātārs took Baghdād (a qaṣida by Taqī al-Dīn Ismā'īl b. Abī al-Yusuf, Ibn al- Kāzarūnī).

A.H. 657: advance of the Tātārs to Āmid and Harrān, their crossing of the Euphrates.

A.H. 658: review of the Ṣāhibs of the different provinces. Advance of Hulākū to Ḥalab (Quṭb al-Dīn : Tārīkh, Abū Shāma). Taking of Damascus (Ibn al-Jawzī, Abū Shāma, Quṭb al-Dīn, 'Izz al-Dīn b. al-Shaddād).

A.H.659 : review of the Ṣāhibs of the year. Battle of Hīmṣ(al-Jazarī, Abū Shāma, Quṭb al-Dīn).

A.H.660 : fights round Mawṣil (Ibn Khallikān).

A.H.661 : Clash between al-Malik al-Zāhir and al-Mughīth. Encounter of Hulākū with the Berke.

A.H.662 : Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Shāma's rule in Mashikān.

A.H.663 : Muslim Victory in Andalusia (Abū Shāma). The Tātārs attacked al-Bira, Hulākū's death was reported, his son Abnā became king of the Tātārs.

A.H. 664 : Solemn exit of the Sultān from Egypt to Jerusalem (Sād al-Dīn: Tārīkh).

A.H.665 : Victory of Burāq son of Jaghatāy over 'Abaqa near Hīrāt.

A.H.666: The legate of al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Shams al-Dīn in Egypt. Seize of Yāfā. The Sultān asked for truce (Ibn 'Abd al-Zākir: Sīrat al-Zāhiriyya). Redemption of the son of Boghā, lord of Sais, from the captivity of the Tātārs.

A.H.667 : the Sultān received the begates of Boghā.

A.H. 668 : Campaign of the Sultān in Syria his encounter with Sarim al-Din Mubarak and the Ismailites. Fight with the crusaders in Tunis.

A.H.669 : the Sultān's campaign against Asqatas and Hisn al-Akrād. Al-Malik al-'Azīz was captured in Cairo. Revolt of Idrīs in Makka. The crusaders in Tūnis.

A.H. 670: Campaign of the Sultān against the Kurks and the Tātārs (Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Fakhr). His expedition to al-Jiza. The Tātārs in Harrān.

A.H.671 : incursion of the Ṣāhib al-Nauba, Fight with the Tātārs on the Euphrates (al-Shihāb Mahmūd Iḳā Allah).

A.H.672 : the Sultān entered 'Asqalān, Story of the king of the Georgians.

A.H. 673 : the Sultān in Damascus and Sis (al-'Ammād, Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir).

A.H. 674 : Tātār attack on Bīra. Campaign of al-Nuba and Raṅqala (Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir).

A.H. 675: fights of Badr al-Dīn al-Atabaki with the Tātārs in Palestine. The Sultān, after going to Derbend, defeated the Tātārs (Qutb al-Dīn : Tārīkh).

A.H. 676: fights of the Sultān with Abnā (

A.H. 678 : Sultānate of al-Mulīk at-Mansūr

A.H. 679 : fights of Sunqir al-Ashghair with the Tātārs.

A.H. 680 : defeat of the Tātārs at Hims.

A.H. 691 : Victory of the Sultān over the Romans.

A.H. 692 : the Sultān demanded the fortress of Bahna from the prince of Sis.

A.H. 693 : assassination of the Sultān al-Malik al-Ashraf.

A.H. 694 : Ghazan, the grandson of Hulākū embraced Islām.

A.H. 698 : movement of the Shāfiīte mutakallimūn.

A.H. 699 : the Tātārs invaded Syria and took Damascus (Ibn Šabbāh al-Zubaydī).

A.H. 700 : the Tātārs in Syria.

As it may be seen, al-Ḍahabī's special concerns are (i) the history of the Seljūqs, Ayyūbids and the Mongol invasion, (2) the internal development of Islām, specially the movement of the Bāṭinites and the Shīites; (3) the Western Islām, a territory which was neglected by al-Ṭabarī and also by Ibn al-Aṭḥir to a certain

extent. As a whole, the Tārīkh al-Islām shows the tendency of al-Dhahabī to deal with the development of the whole of Islām though, as a matter of course, his records are more detailed for Syria and Egypt than for other Muslim territories.

(b) Local History:

Like his predecessors, Ibn al-Jawzī and Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Dhahabī also takes a special interest in the events of local importance. But whereas the main concern of Ibn al-Jawzī is directed to the history of Baghdad and that of Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī to the local history of Damascus, al-Dhahabī, by making use of both these works, records the local chronicle of both Muslim cities. Not considering the many accounts concerning these cities which are contained in his political narrative, it is peculiarly between A.H. 301 - 700 that he regularly records the changes in the administration of both Baghḍād and Damascus and sometimes also of other cities, mentioning the names of the new qāḍīs, Wālīs and amils which are also found mostly in the works of Ibn al-Jawzī and Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, continuing them to his own time. These data are indispensable for the history of the administration of Baghdad and Damascus during the ʿAbbāsids, Ayyūbids, and Mongols,. Similarly he is also interested in the changes in the external shape of these cities; the construction and enlargement of mosques, suqs, schools, hospitals and other public buildings are, as a rule, carefully recorded. He does not neglect the internal life of the Muslim centres either. The disputes between the different sects of Islām, between Sunnites, Shīʿites and Rāfiḍīs, as well as the seditions and robberies which

were very frequent during the period of the 'Abbāsids, are always remembered in the Tārīkh al-Islām. And finally, we can obtain some data on the economic life of both cities in the records on high prices in consequence of drought or other plagues; the prices per ratle of the main commodities (bread, flour, meat) are usually indicated. Thus the Tārīkh al-Islām is an excellent work of reference on the local history of Baghdad and Damascus, specially for the later period to which the works of Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn al-Jawzī do not extend.

(c) 'Ajāib (wonderful events):

One of the main characteristics of our work is its sometimes very detailed records on strange events and curiosities of the several years. In regard to these so-called 'ajāib, al-Dhahabī proves a good disciple of both Ibn al-Jawzī and Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, to whose works he constantly refers in his narrative. Firstly he always mentions the astronomical phenomena; the strange sidereal constellations or the appearance of comets. Then he records also meteorological phenomena like violent winds, heavy rains or droughts, and the famines which appeared as a consequence of the latter. He also makes it a point to describe earthquakes and the panic called forth by them. Thus he gives detailed records of the earthquakes of A.H.460 with reference to Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn al-Qalanisī and al-Ṣābūnī of A.H.551-2, with reference to Ibn al-Jawzī, and of A.H.565 with reference to al-ʿAmmād al-Kātib and Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī. His narrative is peculiarly detailed on the year A.H.597, when great famines and elementary

Plagues occurred in both Egypt and 'Irāq, while Syria was laid waste by a terrible earthquake. Al-Ḍahabī records all these events in a narrative of seven folio-pages on the authorities of 'Abd al-Laṭīf and al-Baghdādī, Abū Shāma, Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, and al-Buzurī, whereas Ibn al-Aṭḥr devotes only some lines to the same events.

And finally, al-Ḍahabī is fond of remembering all kinds of odd events which occurred in the several Muslim cities or provinces and which were "the fun of the fair" of those days. With the instinct of a modern journalist, al-Ḍahabī, after relating the political and local events of the several years, does not leave without mention such oddities as the appearance in Nihāwand of a man practising sorcery (A.H.499), the appearance of an elephant in Damascus (A.H. 610), a man who had ten daughters (A.H.643), a Baghdād woman who gave birth to double twins (A.H.646), another woman who gave birth to twins (A.H.647), the sinking of seven islands on the authority of the Tārīkh of al-Muayyad 'Imād al-Dīn (A.H.660), or an elephant shaped lamb which was brought to the Sultān (A.H.663).

Thus the Tārīkh al-Islām is a repository of all sorts of curiosities and gives us an insight also into the events which interested "the man in the street" of Baghdad or Damascus.

SECTION-D

Biographies in the Tārīkh

But it is chiefly for its biographical value that the Tārīkh al-Islām has always been referred to and appreciated. Following the example of the Kitāb al-Muntazam of Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Dhahabī also gives obituary notices on the persons of some consequence who died in the respective years. These biographical records are for more elaborate and compose a far greater on an average six or seven times as large a - part of Tārīkh al-Islām as the Mawāḍith, which only appear to be prefixed to them for the sake of completeness and for the preservation of the tārīkh character of the work. The predominance of the biographical matter of his work can best be seen from its division into classes (tabaqāt) of ten years, which is carried through not only in the biographical parts, but also in the general narrative, though, as a rule, the technical term tabaqāt was only applied to biographical collections, like the Tabaqat al-huffāz or the Tabaqāt al-Qurrā' of the same author. Thus al-Dhahabī adopted the system of the tabaqat works for his Tārīkh al-Islām and retained the chronological division of the subject-matter as a mere subdivision.

But, in contrast to the tabaqāt - works, the biographies of the Tārīkh al-Islām include not only illustrious men of one madhhab only, like the Tabaqāt al-Shafī'iya or Tabaqāt al-Hanbaliyya of different authors, nor prominent people of one vocation only like the biographical collections on poets or scholars, but all sorts of people belonging to all the four madhhabs of the Sunnite Islām or to

the shiites, though as a matter of course, preference is given to the madhhab of al-Dhahabī, the shāfi'ites.

These biographical records include in alphabetical order all sorts of people, thus :

- (1) All the Caliphs and minor rulers as well, whose succession to the throne or death are generally remembered briefly also in the general narrative. A particular advantage of the Tārīkh al-Islām is that the caliphs of the Spanish and Maghribi Islām are as well recorded as those of the East, among whom the biographies of the Ayyūbid and Seljūq rulers specially deserve our attention.
- (2) The wazīrs, generals and high officials (amīrs, 'āmilis, wālīs).
- (3) The theologists and jurisconsults (qādīs, faqīhs) of all the madhhabs.
- (4) The scholars other than theologists.
- (5) The poets.

The biographies vary in length from the mere mention of names to the very detailed biographical records on the most celebrated people; these latter also narrate some episodes of their lives. The style of al-Dhahabī's records is the same as that of Ibn al-Jawzī's. First comes the full name of the deceased person ('alām, kunya, laqab), then follow the date and place of his birth, appearance, and short characterization (of the more important men only), the names of his masters and of those who studied with him and

reported on him, his career, the opinions of the leading authorities concerning him, an enumeration of his literary works, the date and place of his death, and possibly also the place of his burial. In the biographies of poets many quotations, even poems in full length, are frequently included in the records.

Al-Dhahabī, in compiling the biographies of the celebrities of seven centuries, rendered an invaluable service to posterity and in the first place to the scholars of Arabic literature and the history of Islām who so often need data regarding prominent figures of Muslim past. There is no better evidence of the great biographical value of the Tārīkh al-Islām than the fact that some of the biographical abstracts made from it by al-Dhahabi himself were known earlier than the original works. If it has been necessary to edit the short recensions of the work: the Kitāb duwal al-Islām, the Tabaqāt al-Huffāz, or the Tajrīd fī asmā' al-Ṣahāba, it would undoubtedly be important to publish the Tārīkh al-Islām too, either as a whole or at least its latter half treating the years A.H. 301-700, for which period we have no other work of the same kind, comprising in it-self both the political history and the biographies of these four eventful centuries of Muslim history.

The sources of the Tārīkh al-Islām

The Tārīkh al-Islām, like many other Arabic works on general history, is a compilation of all sorts of data excerpted by its author from a vast number of sources. In reading the manuscripts of the work one has to acknowledge al-Dhahabī's great versatility

in many branches of Arabic literature, specially in history, ḥadīth, fiqh, and poetry. There is hardly any important work in these branches which was not consulted by him. In addition, he was careful in collecting his data concerning one even from all the sources available for him, which he always quoted conscientiously. Though, as we have seen, he was reprimanded for a certain bias even by one of his most famous disciples, yet his reliability becomes evident by reading the Tārīkh al-Islām hand in hand with the sources referred to by him where this is feasible. Such a comparison proves his reliability in excerpting other works, which enables us to obtain trustworthy references to and extracts from works non-existent or data on authors unknown to us. Even if in reading the Tarikh al-Islām we came across such indefinite references as "wa qala ḡhayruhu" (and it was said by somebody else), these are not disturbing either, because the sources can well be deduced even in these cases from the context of the passage in question.

Thus the Tārīkh al-Islām is an almost inexhaustible repository of earlier historical, biographical, and theological literature. In examining the authorities consulted by al-Dhahabī we can fairly well see which authorities were in common use at this time. First there were four sources of primary importance on general history.

- (1) The Tārīkh al-Rusul Wa al-Mulūk of al-Ṭabarī for the general narrative of the first three centuries A.H., the common use of which was so well-known that al-Dhahabī did not trouble to refer to it, and could forego the detailed record of the events of this period.

(2) The al-Kāmil fi al-Tārikh of Ibn al-Athīr is his main source for the years A.H. 301-628 of the general narrative. His name is nearly always mentioned.

(3) The Kitāb al-Muntaẓam wa multaqaṭ al multazam fī akhbār al-mulūk wal-Umam of Ibn al-Jawzī was doubtless the most important source of al-Dhahabī, not so much an political history as on the local history of Baghdad, on the ajaib and on the biographical matter generally, and on the obituary notices on prominent Baghdad people specially for the period A.H.302-597. We may justly call al-Dhahabī the most distinguished disciple of Ibn al-Jawzī, from whose work he borrowed the whole system of his Tarikh al-Islam

The importance attributed by him to the Kitāb al-Muntaẓam can be seen also from his constant references for A.H.575-631 to a hitherto unknown continuation of it by a certain Abū Bakr Maḥfūz b. Mātūq b. Abī Bakr b.ʿUmar al-Baḡhdādī b. al-Buzurī, who according to him, wrote a supplement to the Kitāb al-Muntaẓam.

(4) The Kitāb mirāt al-Zamān fi- Tārikh al-ʿAyān of Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī was used (1) for the general narrative of the years A.H. 629-54, i.e. from the time on whose Ibn al-Athīr's work ends; (2) for the local history of Syria and specially of Damascus regarding which Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī is as reliable an authority as his grand father is on the local history of Mesopotamia and of Baḡhdād specially; (3) for the ʿajāib, which occurred in Syria.

Concerning what may be styled the lesser authorities of al-Dhahabī, for the History of the Ayyūbiids he used most the kitāb al-Rawḍatayn fī akhbār al-dawlatayn of Abū Shāma and the Kitāb Mufarrij al-Kurūb fī akhbār Bani Ayyūb of Ibn Wāṣil. For the history of the Mongols he made use of the Sīrat al-Sultān Jalāl al-Dīn Manqubirtī of al-Nasawī, and a hitherto unknown report of the famous Baghdād physician and Scientist ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī, whose history and geography of Egypt are well known to scholars.

On the following pages we give an enumeration of the sources used by al-Dhahabī in the general narrative of his work, excluding al-Ṭabarī Ibn al-Aṭhīr, Ibn al-Jawzī, and Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī. As for his biographics, it is almost impossible to give a short synopsis of al-Dhahabi's authorities, so many are his references and quotations. Besides the works also used for his general narrative, it is chiefly the great biographical collections of Ibn Najjār, Ibn ‘Asākir, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Ibn Khallikān, and al-Samānī that he mentions most frequently in his obituary notices.

Our list gives evidence of the scientific value of the Tārīkh al-Islām, which has been considered an excellent symposium of Islāmic lore by all the famous later authors. Thus Muḥammad b. Shākir al-Kutubī in his ‘Uyūn al-Tawārikh, al-Yāfiī in his Mirāt al-Janān wa ‘Ibrat al-Yaqẓān, and al-‘Aynī in his ‘Iqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh al-Zamān all drew a great deal on al-Dhahabi's work.

Ibn al-Abbār (d. 658/1260). A.H. 633 (Spain). Al-Imām Aḥmad (Perhaps Aḥmad b. Ḥambal (d. 241/855), A.H. 429).

Usāma b. Munqidh (d. 584/1188). A.H. 494 (Seljūqs). Abū Ishāq al-Sabi (d. 385/994). A.H. 369 (a qasida) Ibn Isrā'īlī, A.H. 648.

Hibatallah b. Aḥmad b. al-Akfānī (according to Ibn Khallikān, vol.i, P. 252 and vol.iii, p.320, note, he died in 523/1129). A.H. 469).

Alyasa' b. Khadm (mentioned in Ibn Khall, vol.iii, P.574). A.H. 485 (Andalusia).

Al-Qādī Abū Bakr b. al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1012). Kitāb Kashf al-Aṣrār al-Bāṭiniyya. (See Ḥājji Khalifa, No.10, 655), A.H. 322.

Ibn Bākūya al-Shīrāzī (d. 442/1050). A.H. 309.

Ibn al-Buzurī (according to the MS of the Bodleian Library vol.i, No.649, fol. 148 b, 11.9-10, his name is Abū Bakr Maḥfūz b. Mātūq b. Abū Bakr b. 'Umar al-Baghdādī b. al-Buzrī, "he supplemented the Muntazam in many volumes"). A.H. 575, 582-4, 586-8, 591, 593-4, 597, 599, 631. (Local events and 'ajāib of Baghdād).

Abū al-Fath al-Bustī (d. 401/1010), A.H. 392.

Al-Mukhtar Buṭlān (d. 455/1063), A.H. 446.

Ibn al-Tuṣṣī (al-Tūnisī; perhaps identical with Hilāl al-Ṣābī), A.H. 413.

Abū Tammām (d.230/845). A.H.395, (A poem)

Al-Tamimī A.H.575.

Al-Tanūkhī (1) Al-Qāsim al-Tanūkhī, A.H.302, 312, 352, 356
(Buyides) (2) Aḥmad b.Yūsuf al-Tanūkhī, A.H. 309 (3) Ib al-
Muḥsin al-Tanūkhī (d. 384/994) A.H. 330.

Ibn Tumart (d. after 524/1130) A.H. 554.

Thābit b.Sinān (d. 365/975, his history was continued by
Hilāl al-Ṣābī).A.H. 301, 309, 314, 317, 320, 322, 324, 326, 329,
333, 351-2.

Abū Maṣṣūr 'Abdullah b. Muḥammad al-Thālibī (d. 429/1038)
A.H. 366, 388.

Shams al-Dīn al-Jazarī (d. 710/1311). Tārīkh. A.H. 652, 659
(Tātārs).

Al-Nasaba Muḥammad b.Aṣād al-Jawānī (d. 588/1192). A.H.583
(A poem).

Ibn al-Jawzī (certainly a descendant or relative of Sibṭ b. al-
Jawzī). A.H.658.

'Alī b.Aḥmad al-Hāsib. A.H. 309.

Saīd al-Dīn b. Maṣūd b.al-Ḥamāwiyya al-Jawaynī al-Kazarūnī
(d. 758/1357). A.H.616, 640, 642-5, 647-8, 655-6, 66A (Ayyūbids,
Tātārs).

Hātim, the poet . A.H. 586.

Al-Muwaffaq Abū al-Ma'ālī al-Qāsim b.Abī al-Ḥudayd.A.H.632

Al-Qāḍī Abū al-Ḥusayn (certainly Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Rāzī al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Imām Muḥaddith al-Shamm Muḥammad b.‘Abdallah b.Jāfar b.‘Abdallah b. al-Junayd, see Ṭab Huff, xii, 16.according to which he died in 348/959-60) A.H.322.

Ibn Hamdān al-Ṭabīb (Perhaps Ibn Hamdān al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Majūl Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b.Aḥmad b.Ali b. Hamdān al-Khurāsānī, see Ṭab.Huff, xiii. 69)A.H. 332.

Al-Ḥumaydī (certainly the Andalusian Abū ‘Abdullah Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr who died in 488/1095and was the author of the Kitāb Jadhwat al-Muqtabis fī dhikr walāt al-Andalus). A.H. 372. (Andalusia).

Ibn Hauqal (lived in the fourth century A.H).A.H. 309.

Abū Ḥayyān Athīr al-Dīn (d. 745/1345). A.H. 633 (Spain).

Muḥammad b.Ali al-Khurāsānī. A.H. 322.

Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad b.Nāfi‘ al-Khuzā‘ī. A.H. 340.

Abū Bakr al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 403/1071).A.H. 309, 329, 381.

Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282).A.H. 322, 660.

Al-Dāraqutnī (d. 385/995) A.H. 306.

Abū Bakr Muḥammad b.‘Alī b. al-Qāsim al-Dhahabī (Perhaps identical with the al-Dhahabī mentioned in Ṭab. Huff., xi. 18, who died in 314 (926-7). Tārīkh A.H.317.

Ibn Sabbāḥ al-Zubaydi, A.H. 699.

Abū Al-Ḥasan al-Zaynabī (mentioned in the kitāb al-Ansāb, P.284 b). A.H.420.

Tāj al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan b. al-Sāʿī (d. 674/1275). A.H. 622, 625, 644, 647-8, 654 (Crusades, Mongols).

Sādallah. A.H.639 (Mongols).

Al-Sullamī (d. 412/1021) Tārīkh al - Sūfiyya (Perhaps identical with the anonymous work of the same title mentioned in Ibn Khall., No.2246) A.H. 309, 311.

Al-Simnani. Tārīkh. A.H.317

Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sinjābī. A.H. 500

Ibn al-Sharīf, A.H. 623.

Shihāb al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ismāʿīl Abū Shama (d. 665/1268). A.H.579, 589, 591-3, 597, 601, 605, 608-30, 661(Ayyūbids).

ʿIzz al-Dīn b. al-Shaddād (d. 684/1285). A.H.563, 583, 584-5, 587 (Sīrat Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn), 658.

Bahā al-Dīn Yūsuf b.al-Shaddād. A.H. 565.

ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Shimshātī (contemporary of Sayf al-Dawla, see Yāqūt, vol.iii, P.320, Fihrist, P.154). Tārīkh. A.H. 351.

Al-Shihāb Maḥmūd Ibqā Allah. A.H.671 (A Poem).

Al-Ṣābūnī (Probably Maḥmūd b. Abī Bakr al-Ṣābūnī al-Bukhārī author of the Kitāb al-Kifāya fī al-Hidāya (d. 580/1184). A.H.460.

Ibn al-Ṣābī (son of Hilāl b.al-Muḥassin al-Ṣābī, see Ibn Khall. vol.iii, P.628, al-Qift : Tārīkh al-Hukamāʾ, ed. Lippert, P.110) A.H.466.

Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī (d. 335/946). A.H. 305, 309, 320, 322, 329.

Ibn Abī Ṭayy (d. 630/1232). A.H. 569, 571.

Abū 'Umar al-Zalimnakī (according to Ṭab. Huff, xiii, 63, died in 429/1037-8). A.H. 342.

Ibn 'Abd Rabbihī (d. 328/940). A.H. 350.

Majd al-Dīn b. 'Abd al-Zāhir (d. 692/1292). Sīrat al-Malik al-Zāhir, A.H. 666, 673-4.

'Abd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Baṣrī (according to Ḥājjī Khalīfa, No. 7925, al-Asadabādī (d. 415/1024) A.H. 322.

'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī (d. 629/1231). A.H. 575, 582, 585, 597, 605 (Khabar al-Tātār), 617, 627.

Al-Naṣr Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār al-'Utbī (d. 427/1036). Sīrat al-Sultān Maḥmūd. A.H. 400, 409.

'Alī b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (See Ḥājjī Khalīfa, No. 2240). A.H. 370.

Abū Maṣṣūr b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-'Ukbarī, A.H. 363.

Al-'Ammād al-Kātib, A.H. 563, 565-7, 569, 576, 583-4, 589- 673.

Al-Qādī 'Iyad b. Mūsā al-yaḥṣūbī (d. 544/1149), A.H. 334.

Al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111). Sirr al-'Ālamayn. A.H. 494.

Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Fārisī: Tārīkh. A.H. 601.

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Fakhr (Perhaps identical with al-Jazarī, see above). A.H. 670.

Abū Jafar Aḥmad b. ʿAunallah al-Qarṭubī, A.H. 342.

Abū al-Qāsim al-Qushayrī (d. 465/1074), A.H.445.

Qutb al-Dīn (Perhaps the astronomer Qutb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī who died in 710/1312). Tārīkh, A.H.658-9, 666-9, 675 (Damascus).

Abū Yāla Ḥamza b. al-Qalānīsī (d. 555/1160, continuator of the chronicle of Hilāl b. al-Muḥassin al-Ṣābī). A.H.460, 469, 491, 492, 554.

Al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Qilawī al-Fāḍil al-Kātib (according to Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī: Mirāt al-Zamān ed. Jewett, P.460, died in 633/1235-6). Tārīkh, A.H.450, 571.

Maḥmūd al-Iṣfahānī (d. 749/1338). A.H.317, 322.

Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallah Qāḍī al-Ṭaur A.H. 616 (A poem).

Muḥammad b. al-Rāḍī b. Sulaymān al-Marāghī, A.H.317.

Al-Musabbihī (d. 420/1029). A.H.301, 335, 339 (Fāṭimids).

Al-Maṣūḍī (d. 345-6/956-7). A.H.311, 322, 333.

Jamāl al-Dīn b. Maṭrūd (d. 649/1251-2), A.H.648 (A Poem)

Al-Muyyad ʿImād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī (d. 587/1201), Tārīkh, A.H.615, 660.

Muṣharraf al-Maqdisī (certainly identical with Ibn Hilāl al-Maqdisī, authore of the Muthir al-Gḥaram ilā Ziyārat al-Quds wa al-Shām, who died in 744/1314) A.H.364.

Abū al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Minādī, A.H.309.

Al-Naḍhr al-Ziltī, A.H. 401.

Abū al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Minadī A.H. 309.

Al-Nadhr al-Zilṭī, A.H. 401

Al-Nasawī (d. 639/1241). Sīrat al-Sultān Jalāl al-Dīn Manqubirtī. AH. 605, 614-7 (Mongols).

Ibn Naẓīf (Perhaps the author of the Juzʾ Ibn Naẓīf mentioned in Ḥājjī Khalīfa, No. 4028).

Ishāq b. Ismāʿīl al-Naubakhtī (Perhaps the son of Abū Sahl Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī al-Naubakhtī, who died in 311/923-4), A.H. 320.

Ibn Wāṣil (d. 697/1298). A.H. 563, 569, 572, 583, 589, 591, 596, 598, 600, 604, 610, 615-18, 641, 653 certainly from his Mufarrij al-Kurūb fī Akhbār Banī Ayyūb and his al-Tārīkh al-Sālehī (Ayyūbiids).

Taqī al-Dīn Ismāʿīl b. Abī al-Yusr (according to al-Kutubī : Fawāt al-Wafayāt, vol. i, PP. 11-13, was scribe to Nāṣir Daūd). A.H. 656 (A Qaṣīda).

Abū Yāʿlā Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Razzāq (mentioned in Ibn Khalīkān, Vol. iii, P. 426). A.H. 411, 469 (Egypt).

Hilāl b. al-Muḥassin al-Ṣābī (d. 448/1056). A.H. 369, 381, 413.

Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Hamdānī (d. 521/1127). A.H. 381.

An anonymous Tārīkh al-Qayrawān (Perhaps by Abū ʿAlī Ḥasan b. Raṣḥīq al-Qayrawānī who died in 463/1070-1) or by Abū ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Ḥasanī or by Ibrāhīm al-Rafīq, see Ḥājjī Khalīfa, No. 2285), A.H. 322.

SECTION-EAn importance of his Tārīkh

Al-Dhahabī's Tārīkh al-Islām is an authority on the Mongol Invasion of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate. As scarcely ever has Islām experienced more tragical times and more hardships than during the Mongol invasion in the course of the 7th/13th Century. With the despite of the nomads, practitioners of the open air life, for sedentary occupations, the people of Chengiz Khān turned against and mercilessly destroyed the towns and works of civilization everywhere. Their disastrous campaign was only facilitated by the decomposition of the political unity of Islam at that time. In Baghdād the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate still subsisted but its splendour was on the wane; to the west of Baghdād, in Egypt, Palestine and a part of Syria, the Ayyūbīds reigned, and in Asia Minore the Seljūqs while to the east of Baghdād the Turkish princes from Khīva had a rather insecure hold on the vast stretch of the Khwārizmian empire from the Ganges to the Tigris and from Turkistān to the Indian Ocean. This state of affairs was inviting to an enterprising invader of the sort of Chengiz Khān who in 615/1218, crushed the Khwārizmian empire, while his grandson, Hulāghū Khān put an end to the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate in 658/1258. The Western provinces of Islām, including Egypt, were, however, spared from the devastating fury of the Mongols by the Mamlūk Sultān's Victory over Ketbogha, Hulāghū's general, at 'Ayn Jālūt, Palestine in 659/1260. When in 699/1299-701/1301 his grandson Qazān failed in conquering Syria Islām was definitely safe from further Mongol

attacks¹.

Small wonder that the terrified Muslims regarded the Mongol invasion as a veritable scourge. In writing of the Mongols or Tātārs as their primitive name was, they hardly ever omit the opposition al-malainu (the accussed), and, referring to Chengiz Khān, they usually affix the phrase lā'anahu Allah (may All curse him) to his name².

No doubt this great horror of the Muslims alone accounts for the astonishing fact that in the hitherto edited texts of the vast Arabic historical and geographical literature , not excluding the very well-informed yāqūt, we find practically no reference to their original home, tribal organization and customs. Much better are we informed about their campaigns against Islām, though, as a matter of course, scores of works, both Arabic and Persian are to be consulted to sketch a detailed narrative of them. There is however, one work containing a rather detailed record of the principal events of the Mongol invasion, and this is the hitherto unedited Tārīkh al-Islām of al-Dhahabī (673/1274 to 748/1348). He needs no introduction to Arabic scholars, so well-known and much used are his works on hadīth and his historical compendium Kitāb Duwal al-Islām³. His principal work, the Tārīkh al-Islām

1. Cf. Joseph De Somogy, "al-Dhahabī's Tārīkh al-Islām as an Authority on the Mongol Invasion of the Caliphate", JRAS(1935), P.595.

2. Ibid, pp. 595-6.

3. Cf. Joseph De Somogy, "Ein arabisches kompendium der weltgeschichte, Das Kitāb duwal al-Islām des ad.Dahabī," Islamica, Leipzig, 1932, pp.334-53.

combining both general and biographical history, finishes in 700/1300-1 and, therefore, includes the whole history of the Mongol invasion. The value of his narrative is enhanced by his careful gathering of all sorts of information pertaining to his subject, and by himself being an eye witness to the last phase of the Mongol invasion, Qāzān's attack on Damascus.

It is owing to al-Dhahabī's conscientious quotation of his authorities that we possess in his Tārīkh al-Islām the only report on Chengiz Khān's Tātārs that is extant in the hitherto known works of Arabic literature. Al-Dhahabī begins his of the appearance of Chengiz Khān's people in 605/1208-9 with a reference to the Khabar al-Tātār of al-Muwaffaq 'Abd al-Latif b. Yusuf. We meet with the same name in the narrative of the year 617/1220-1. From this curtailed name it clearly appears that we have to do with the celebrated Egyptian Physician and naturalist, Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Latīf b. Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Abī Sād al-Baghdādī, commonly known as Ibn al-Labbād (d. 629/1231-2). He is noted for his description of Egypt entitled Kitāb al-Ifāda wa al-Itibār fī al-Umūr al-Mushāhada wa al-Hawādith al-Mu'āyana bi and Miṣr¹. We have a list of his 166 works, which is appended to the biography of him by Ibn Abī Uṣaybia (d. 668/1269-70) in his lexicon of Arabian physicians and naturalists, 'Uyūn al-Anbā fī Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā². These are works, mostly lost, on geography, natural

1. Edited by J. White, 'Abdallatīphī Historiae Aegypti compendium, Oxford, 1800, and by S. de Sacy, Relation de l'Aegypte par 'Abdallatif, Paris, 1810.

2. Edited separately by J. Mousley, Abdallatif Bagdadensis vita, auctore Ibn abi Osaiba, Oxford 1808 and for the list of his works see, *Ibid*, pp. 50-64.

history, and medicine, and include a history (Tārīkh)¹, there is, however, no indication of any separate report by him on the Tatars as given by al-Dhahabī². Perhaps His account formed part of one of his works lost which was luckily discovered by al-Dhahabī and inserted into his Tārīkh al-Islām. We have notwithstanding, some indications in 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī's autobiography included in Ibn Abī Uṣaybia's biography of him, from which we may gather that on his travels he had met people from Central Asia and had even actually been among the Tātārs. Thus we read in his autobiography that he had an intercourse with famous shaykhs from Baghdād, Khurāsān, Syria and Egypt³; that he travelled from Ḥalab into the Byzantine Empire and spent several years there⁴; that after making journey in Egypt, Syria, and Maghrib he went on the 7th Dhu al-Qāda 625/8th October, 1228, to Erzerum, then in Rabī' al-Awwal 626/28th January-26th February, 1229 to Kimākh, in Jumada al-Ulā/28th March - 26th April, to Dairki⁵. Concerning Kimakh we read in Yāqūt (ed F. Wastenhof, vol. iv, P. 334) that it is a wide province on the frontier of China and its inhabitants are Turks living in tents; it is also the name of the Tarkish people from which the tribe of the Qypchaq

1. Ibid, P. 56

2. We have no reference to such a report in the biography of him in al-Kutubī's Fawāt al-wafayāt, vol. ii, PP. 7-8 and none even in al-Dhahabī's biography of him in the Tārīkh al-Islām, MS of the Bodleian Library, Cat. i, 654, fols. 76-77 b.

3. Cf. Mousley, P. 6.

4. Ibid, P. 34.

5. Ibid, P. 36, Dairki is given as Déberki by S. de Sacy, Op. cit., P. 470. Thus also in Ibn Abī Useibia, ed. A. Muller, Königsberg, 1884, vol. ii, P. 207.

had sprung¹. This indication furnishes evidence of his travel in Mongolia, and it is doubtless owing to his observations and experiences made on this and other journeys that we have his report which al-Dhahabī inserted into his great work and saved from persisting.

The report of 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī consists of or was divided by al-Dhahabī into, two parts, which are included in the records of the years A.H. 605 and 617. The possible date of its composition must be put after 625/1227-8 because he repeatedly refers to the ravage of Ispahan by the Tātārs which occurred in 625/1227-8.

The general panic called forth by the rumours about the advance of Chengiz Khān's Tātārs in Central Asia is excellently characterized by al-Dhahabī's introductory remark to the first part of 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī's report². He says that "this is a report that eats up all (similar) reports, an item of news that rolls up other news, a story that makes other stories to be forgotten, an accident in comparison to which other accidents appear slight, and a misfortune that extends over the whole surface of the earth," This remark which is certainly apt to rouse the reader's interest, is followed by a short description of the Tātārs. First 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī states

1. Cf. W. Barthold, "Qypchaq", Encyclopaedia of Islam, vol. ii, P. 1009, and also the description of Kimakh in S. H. Manger, *La Vie de Tamerlan per Ibn Arabshah*, Leeuwarden, 1767-1772, vol. ii, P. 202.

2. The first part of the report is in the MS of the British Museum, No. 1640, from fol. 173, l. 21 to fol. 173 b, l. 18.

the language of the Tātārs is similar to that of the Hindus because they live in their vicinity. Incorrect as this statement is, it is significative of the popular theory prevalent at that time which devoted all sorts of Northern and central Asiatic nomadic races with the common name of Tātārs¹. They live at a distance of four months from Tangut². Anthropologically they are described as having broad faces, wide breasts, light buttocks, small members, brown complexion; they are agile and intelligent.

People know very little about them before meeting them, first because "they receive intelligence of them", that is why it is very difficult for any foreigner to spy out their conditions and secondly because they always conceal their intentions and surprise the foreign peoples with their attacks." The inhabitants of no town know of them before they enter it and no army before they meet it". Their women fight like their men, sometimes carrying even their babies round their necks. First a small troop would appear in a foreign town, then, all of a sudden, the mass of the Tatars break in upon them, all of a sudden, the mass of the Tatars break in upon them unexpectedly and mercilessly murder all the women and children, but spare the lives of the artisans and able bodied men, whom they take

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1. For the similar Chinese conception of the Tātārs see, C.D Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, 2nd ed., La Haye et Amsterdam, 1837-52, vol.i, P.93.
 2. Tangut is, according to Yaquṭ (ed. F.Wustenfeld, vol.v, P.880), "a town in Shāsh beyond (the river) Sayḥūn"; according to Hamdallah Qazwīnī, Nuzhat al-qulub, ed.G. Le Strange, Persian text, P.257, it is also "a country comprising many countries of the Fifth Zone, and called Qashin by the Mongols".

into their service. Most of their arms are arrows made by all all of them. The points of the arrows are made of horn, iron, or bone. Swords are used for stabbing rather than for beating. For defence they use shields made of mole-skins and shins. Their horses eat fresh and dry fodder and even foliage and wood that they find. They use small and light saddles. Their nourishment is the roasted flesh of any kind of animals.

'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baḡhdādī finishes the first part of his report stating that they kill without an exception and mercilessly and it seems that they tend not so much to possession and wealth as to destruction.

The second part of his report¹ treats of the invasion of the Tātārs into the West in A.H.617 and subsequent years. Though this is no continuous narrative of the campaign of Chengiz Khān - as a matter of course such a record can hardly be expected during the campaign - it is very important for all that because he refers to his stay at Erzerum in 618/1221-2, i.e. during the Tātār advance in the Caucasus. Hence it appears that what he relates in the second part was either experienced by him or told to him by eye-witnesses, which is, in all probability, responsible for the many episodes his narrative includes.

1. Cf. The MS. of the British Museum, No.1640, from fol.190 b, 1.6 to fol.192, 1.16.

'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baḡhdādī introduces the second part of his report with a characteristic remark: "Two groups were separated from the Tātārs just as two tongues are separated (from each other) in Hell." We know from other authors also² that the northern group advanced on Adḡarbayjān and Arran, then invaded Georgia; the southern group marched against Hamadān and Iṣfahān, and finally both groups united and advanced on Baḡhdād. The first group attacked Georgia by surprise, then, retreating on Sharwān, passed Derbend, and ravaged the territories of Qypchaq and Alān. At this juncture the report remembers the marriage of the Georgian king's sister to the son of the Seljūq of Erzerum, who embraced Christianity². After praising the country of Qypchaq for its temperate climate, abundance in water, good soil, and many sheep, 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baḡhdādī proceeds to the march of the southern group against Baḡhdād. The kurds were induced to attack Derbend while the Caliph concentrated all his tropps on Baḡhdād. The 'Abbāsīd capital was, however, spared from the Tatar invasion because the Muslims received the Tatar legate, who was probably sent to spy out the enemy's camp,

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1. Cf. Ibn al-Aṡḡīr, vol. xii, PP.251 and 327-8 and d' Ohsson, op.cit., vol.i, PP. 216-352.
 2. For a detailed record of this event, see, Ibn al-Aṡḡīr, vol. xii, pp. 270-1, under the significant title Hadīṡha ḡharība lam yūjad mithluhā, and F.Brosset, Histoire de la Georgie, St.Petersbourg, 1949-1857, vol.i, P.495, it is also related by al-Dḡahabī in the narrative of the year A.H.621: See the MS. of the Bodleian Library, Cat., vol.i, No.654, fols.1b-2.

with such a military parade and ceremony in Arbit, in the wilāyat of Daqūqa, and last in Baghdād that his visit discouraged and frightened the Tātārs who, this time, desisted from attacking Baghdād. This record of the Tatar legate's reception is not known to us from other authorities in print. The invaders also failed to take Iṣfahān.

Then 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī relates some cases illustrative of the cruelty and devastation of the Tātārs, which he heard from eye-witnesses in Armenia, such records terrorized the civilized world so much that the mere name of Tatar has become odious in East and West alike. The particular cases 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī relates were evidently all collected by him during his stay in Armenia, Al-Malik al-Ashraf, the eldest of the Ayyūbids (reigned from 578/1182-3 to 635/1237-8), when asked about the Tātārs, said: "What shall I say of a people of which no prisoner has ever been taken, since they fight as long as they are either killed or save themselves?" And the king of Georgia stated that people never used to tell how many were killed by them in a country, but rather how many were left safe. Nisābūr was also burnt down and completely destroyed, and 550,000 people were mercilessly massacred by them. The country of al-malāhida¹ and Farghana were also visited by them. They found a special pleasure in the gradual truncating

1. Al-malāhida being a name of the Dahrīs, this passage refers to the environs of Alamūt and other fortresses of the Assassins in Īrān.

of their victims, and are told to have even drunk the blood of two children of a woman. The Tātārs success was mainly due to the circumstance that their enemy, the Sultan Khwārizmshāh Muḥammad b. Tukush (reigned from 589/1193 to 596/1200) was "a thief and a burglar, his army was a rabble without care and organization: most of them were infidel Turks or ignorant Muslims. He does not know even the best soldiers in the ranks, and his officers are accustomed to brutality only". They were attacked by the Tātārs, "the sons of one father, one word, and one heart, with one chief whom they obey". After referring to their visit in Iṣfahān, 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baḡhdādī concludes his report remarking that no enemy could ever have been more hostile than the Tātārs, who had no religion and no reason. Even their animals are of a bad sort.

A report of 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baḡhdādī is no connected account of the Tātārs, yet it fully deserves our attention as the narrative of a trustworthy author and the only literary record in Arabic descriptive of the Tātārs. His authority is also referred to by al-Dhahabī in recording the defeat of the khwārizmians at khil'at in A.H.627¹. The other authorities of al-Dhahabī for chengiz Khān's campaign are Ibn al-Athīr, Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, Ibn Wāṣil, al-Nasawī, and a certain al-Muwayyad 'Imād al-Dīn, who wrote his Tārīkh supplementing al-Nasawī's work².

1. Cf. The MS. of the Bodleian Library, Cat. i, 654, fols. 7b-8b.

2. Cf. The MS. of the British Museum, No. 1640, fol. 182, 1.14

In the further record of the Tārīkh al-Islām we can follow the Tatar advance into Central Asia, Iran, and the Causasus until the fatal year of Muslim history, 656/1258, when Baghdād was captured and plundered by Hūlāghū Khān¹. Into his narrative, based partly on the authority of a certain Ibn al-Kāzarūnī², al Dhahabī inserted a qasida by Taqī al-Dīn Ismā'īl b. Abī al-Yusr on the destruction of Baghdād³. More or less detailed reports inform us also of the subsequent campaigns of the Tātārs, thus of Hūlāghū Khān's invasion of Syria in 658/1260⁴, of their battle on the Euphratus in 671/1272-3⁵, of their fight with Badr al-Dīn al-Atābakī in Palestine in 675/1276-7, and their defeat at Derbend in the same year⁶, until we came to the end of the Tārīkh al-Islām, where we find a continuous and very detailed description of the Tātārs' second invasion of Syria and destruction of Damascus in 699-700/1299-1301⁷. This concluding narrative is particularly

1. Cf. The MS. of the Bodlien Library, Cat. i, 654, fols 248-250. under the title Kāinat Baghdād.

2. Ibid, fol. 249 b, 1.3.

3. For its text and English translation, see Joseph De Somogy "A Qasida on the destruction of Baghdad by the Mongols, Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies (1933), PP. 41-8.

4. Cf. The MS. of the Bodleian Library, cat. i, 654, fols. 252-5, and also the narrative of Šārim al-Dīn uzbek b. 'Abdallah edited and translated by G. Levi della Vida in his paper "L'invasione dei Tartari in Siria nel 1260 nei ricordi di un testimonio Oculare", Orientalia, nova series, vol. iv (Roma, 1935), PP. 353-376.

5. Cf. The MS. of the Bodleian Library, Cat. i, 656, fol. 57b.

6. Ibid, fols. 60b -61.

7. Cf. The MS. of the British Museum Or. 1540, fols 123-134.

interesting because, well-known as this event is from the Khifāṭ of al-Maqrīzī and other sources¹, it is related by al-Dhahabī with the vivacity of an eye-witness who himself experienced the whole campaign against his city. With the exception of the testimony of a certain Dhau b. Ṣabāḥ al-Zubaydī, who witnessed the battle of Hims², we find no references to other sources in this narrative which is all the more remarkable as otherwise he regularly quotes his authorities throughout his work. For the general historian this concluding narrative is important for three reasons. First, it clearly appears from it that but for the rivalry between the Mamlūk Sultān of Egypt and his governor in Damascus the Tātārs would have never ventured upon such an attack on the most important city of Islām after the fall of Baghdād. Then, it is evident from this report that the failure of the Tātār attempt was due to the heroic defence of the commander of the citadel, Arjawāsh, and not to the

1. Cf. Quatremere, *Histoire des Sultāns Mamlouiks*, Paris, 1837-1841, vol. ii, part ii, from P.147 onwards; d' Ohsson, *op. cit.* vol.iv, from P.212 onwards; Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, (London, 1876), vol.iii, from P.429 onwards, where also Persian authors are quoted.
2. Cf. The MS. of the British Museum Or. 1540, fol.124, 1.13.

military power of the Mamlūks, which proved entirely inefficient after their defeat in the Wādī al-khaznadār on the 28th Rabi' al-Awwal 699/23rd December, 1299. Last, al-Dhahabī emphasizes the circumstance that, though the Tātārs favoured the non-Muslims, they were not hostile to the Muslims for all that. They proclaimed that their ruler was a Muslim, and there can be no doubt that but for their atrocities they would have easily gained possession of Syria.

Moreover, al-Dhahabī's narrative is a very good sketch of the life of Damascus during the Tātār seize. It is of good use to anybody who is interested in the eventful past of this old city. We learn from it the names of the persons filling the posts at that time. In very lively tones our author depicts the general panic called forth by the cruelties of the Tātārs, and the relief felt at their withdrawal. He regularly records also on the rise in the prices of victuals and saddle - horses occasioned by the stringency during the assault.

Thus, the Tārīkh al-Islām contains valuable material for the history of the Mongol invasion of the Caliphate. The fact that al-Dhahabī's narrative, as a whole, corroborates and in details, supplements our information obtained from other sources, testifies to his trustworthiness in gathering and quoting his references.

For this reason his great work can justly be considered as an important authority on this tragical period of the history of Islam.

Hardly ever has Islām survived a more disastrous and more mournful event than the destruction of Baghdād by the Mongols of Halāghū Khān in the middle of the month of al-Muharram of the year 656/ January, 1258. The Mongol conqueror, after having subdued the Assassins, turned against the capital of the ‘Abbāsids and captured it without any resistance. The fall of the ‘Abbāsid Caliphate was followed by a veritable reign of terror which lasted for forty days. Baghdād was plundered during this dismal period, its entire population was massacred mercilessly with the exception of the Christians, the co-religionists of Halāghū Khān's wife and father. The Caliph al-Mustāṣim and his sons fell victims to the fury of the enraged conqueror, who put them to death. And to complete the disaster, a great conflagration destroyed many parts of the city¹.

But all the more remarkable is the fact that we possess only very scanty accounts of this veritable martyrdom of Islam in Arabic literary sources. The most reliable author on the history of the ‘Abbāsids, Ibn al-Athīr, closes his al-kāmil fī al-Tārīkh as

1. Cf. G. Le Strange, Baghdād during the ‘Abbāsid Caliphate (Oxford-London, 1900), P. 343.

early as the year 628/1230-1. Among the later historians "neither Abū al-Faraj nor Abū al-Fidā' affords much information on this subject. Indeed, of the Mongol seize in the seventh century A. H. we know for less than we do, thanks to Ṭabarī, of the first seize in the time of the caliph Amīn in the Second century A. H."¹

So far as Arabic literature is concerned², we possess only three descriptions of some length of these disastrous days of the history of Islām. One is by Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā (d. 701/1301-2) who wrote his famous . . . Kitab al-Fakhri fi Adib al-Sultaniyya wa dawal al-Islāmiyya, at the end of which³ he describes the Mongol seige. The second is by Ibn al-Furāt, who lived one century later (d.807/1404-5), and records the same event in his hitherto unedited Tārīkh al-Duwal wa al-Mulūk⁴. The third is by al-Dhahabī's (d. 748/1348), who in his voluminous Tārīkh

1. Ibid, P.340

2. As for Persian literature, the following historical works contain narratives of this event:(1) The Tabaqāt al-Nāsiri, written shortly after 656/1258, is a contemporary authority on the times of Hulāghū; (2) the Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh, Rashīd al-Dīn's well-known work, finished in 710/1310-11, provides a fairly clear account of the seige operations;(3) the history of Waṣṣāf, the historiographer of Ghazān, the Īlkhān of Persia, written in 700/1300-1, contains only the data related also by Rashīd al-Dīn.Cf.- Le Strange, op.cit, PP. 340-1.

al-Islām¹ devotes a separate chapter to the fall of Baghdād², which not only gives a detailed account of the event, but also includes a Qaṣīda lamenting the decline of the glorious city.

The author of the qaṣīda mentioned above as called by al-Dhahabī is Taqī al-Dīn Ismāʿīl b. Abī al-Yusr. His name is not to be found in any European bibliographical work on Arabic literature, because no literary work bearing this name has come down to us. In oriental bibliographical works on Arabic literature we only find two references to this author. The one is contained in the Fawāt al-Wafayāt of Muḥammad b. Shākir al-Kutubī (d. 764/1362-3), the continuator of Ibn Khallikān's Wafayāt al-Aʿyān. At the beginning of his work al-Kutubī gives a short biographical account on the author of our qaṣīda³. His name is accordingly Taqī al-Dīn b. Abī al-Yusr Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm b. Abī al-Yusr, "musnid al-Shām". His uncle was a scribe of the chancery of the Ayyūbid Nūr al-Dīn, and he himself was scribe to al-Nāṣir Dāud⁴, who was also a good poet. He is characterized by al-Kutubī as being "distinguished in letter writing,

3. Cf. Kitāb al-Fakhrī, ed. W. Ahlwardī (Götha-Göttingen, 1860), pp. 383-8.

4. Cf. Le Strange, Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate, p. 343, note.

1. Cf. Joseph De Semogy, "The Tārīkh al-Islām of al-Dhahabī" JRAS (1932), pp. 815-55.

2. Cf. The MS. of the Bodliian Library (Ury), No. 654, fols. 248-50, under the title Kāina Baghdād.

3. Cf. Bulloq edition of the Wafayāt, A.H. 1299, vol. i, pp. 12-4.

4. Cf. Abū al-Fidā, Mukhtaṣar Tārīkh al-Baṣhar (Istanbul, 1286) vol. iii, pp. 204-5, according to which al-Nāṣir Dāud, the son of al-Malik al-Muʿazzam, died on 27 Jumāda al-Ulā, 656/2 June, 1258.

excellent in poetry and very elequent in speaking". He was charged with the prince's Chancery, with the superintendency of the cemetery, and with other administrative affairs.

Al-Kutubī's record is supplemented by a reference in al-Suy tī's continuation of the Tabaqāt al-Huffāz of al-Dhahabī¹, where we read that it was from a certain Ibn Abī al-Yusr that the grammarian Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Abbās b. Abī Bakr b. Jāwān (d. 674/1275-6) learnt. As this scholar lived at the time of al-Nāṣir Dāud, this reference undoubtedly relates to our author, not to his father, who bore the same name of Ibn Abī al-Yusr. The author's excellent qualities as recorded by al-Kutubī, and in particular his talent for poetry, were certainly well-known in his own time. Al-Kutubī quotes some lines from his poetical works, but does not mention any independent anthology or other work by him. This is probably due to the circumstances that his poems were read only by a limited number of courtiers and scholars in Damascus. In view of this, it is fortunate that al-Dhahabī, who lived about half a century later, could still recover a qasida by him and preserved it in his Tārīkh al-Islām, in the narrative of A.H.656. The qaṣīda was composed by him on the destruction of Baghdād by the Mongols. The poem is owing to al-Dhahabī's conscientious citation of his sources remains as the only work known to be extant of Taqī al-Dīn Ismāʿīl b. Abī al-Yusr. Considering the care shown by

1. Cf. Ed. Wustenfeld, xxi, 3

al-Dhahabī in quoting and copying his authorities, there can be no doubt that this poem also was rendered by him as accurately as possible.

Among the MSS. of the Tārīkh al-Islām we possess two volumes containing our Qasīda. One is in the Bodleian Library, No.654 in the catalogue of Ury. In this MS., which was written by a hand later to al-Dhahabī, the qasīda is contained on foll. 249-9b. The other MS. is in Istanbul in the Aya-Sophia library No.3013, and has not been yet catalogued. As, according to Professor O.Spiesz, who has been this MS., it is an autograph of al-Dhahabī himself¹, it is from this latter MS. the following lines of the qasida² have been copied :

لَسائلُ الدمع عن بغداد اخبار	فما وقوفك والاحباب قد ساروا
يا فرائد من الى الزوراء لا تغدوا	فما بذاك الحمى والدار دثار
ان القيامة في بغداد قد وجدت	وحكى ما حين للاقبال اذار

"The fast-flowing tears give tidings of (the fate of) Baghdad, why your stay, when the lovers have departed? Ye pilgrims to al-Zawra' go not forth; for in that sanctuary and abode is no inhabitant... Truly the Day of Judgement has been held in Baghdad, and her term, when to prosperity succeeds adversity."

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1. Cf. O, Spiesz, " Beitrage Zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte", Abhandlungen fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes, (Leipzig, 1932), P.70.
 2. The Qasīda consists of 21 lines. The poem was photographed from the MS of the Aya-Sophia library. Cf. Joseph De Somogy, "A Qasida on the Destruction of Baghdad by the Mongols," Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London (1933), pp. 43-4.

As regards the contents of the Qasīda it can be divided into three nearly equal parts. The first part (11.1-6) after a short invocation, describes Baghdād as a verated centre of religion which was laid waste by the enemies of Islām, who are accused of promoting Christianity (1.6). The second part (11.7-14) poetically describes the sack and plundering of the once rich city and the slaughter of its inhabitants, and hints that those terros are a punishment inflicted by Allah for the heedlessness of His people (11.13-14). The third part (11.15-21) is a mournful final accord which is not unlike the "Lasciate ogni speranza" of Dante: there is no hope left after the fall of the 'Abbāsids under whose rule the city flourished and the sciences were cultivated; even the poet himself had not hoped to remain alive after that veritable day of Judgement(1.21).

Our poem is consequently a funeral ode and belongs to a special class of qasida. In their development all the earliest varieties of Arabic poetry assumed the qasida- form and the dirge (masthiyya) also shared in this process, The sentiments felt at the death of the beloved were first expressed by the simple unpoetical niyāha, then by say ' verses of which there developed short metric sayings of some length and finally the perfect marthiyya in the metric varities of the qasīda¹. The Qasīda consequently belongs to the class of the marthiyya - qasīda.

1. Cf. Goldziher, "Bemerkungen zur arabischen Trauerpoesie,"

Vienna Oriental Journal, vol.xvi, 1902, pp.307-311.

But whereas the marthiyya, as a rule, laments the loss of a prominent person or a tribe, enumerating his or its qualities, our qaṣida is a typical example of a funeral ode lamenting the fall of a city like Baghdād. Our poem, nevertheless, has all the necessary requisites and characteristic features common to every q aṣīda. Short as it is consisting only of twenty one double verses - it is a fine piece of post classical Arabic poetry written in elegant language, and in the basit metre, the solemn rhythm of which is specially suited to the dirge. But, in addition to these common characteristics of the Qaṣida, our poem also shows some peculiarities shared by the marthiyya-qaṣīdas only:

1. The absence of the nasīb . whereas in the ordinary qaṣida opening nasīb is an essential requisite, it never occurs in the marthiyya -qaṣīda, since the object of the funeral ode is quite different¹. Instead of the nasīb there are some constant formulae with which a marthiyya begins. Thus the poet sometimes refers to the tears shed on a tragic event, which is also to be seen in our qasida referring to the tears of those who lament the fall of Baghdād.

1. Ibid, PP.327-30, where we read that according to Ibn Rashīq in his 'Umda, he could not find any nasibs in the marāthī with the exception of a qaṣida by Durayd b.al-Ṣimma. But even this exception is explained by the circumstance that this poem was written one year after the death of the lamented person, when the blood-ransom for his sake had been fulfilled already, so that the poet could employ a nasīb to express his other feelings with the deceased person.

2. The repetition of the name of the lamented person¹, which is represented here by some poetical names of Baghdād, as al-Zawzā' and Tāj al-Khilāfa.

3. The repetition of the same phrase at the beginning of several consecutive double verses. This had been regarded from the beginning as a peculiarity of the niyaha and, retained through its later poetical development, it was also used in the period of decadence as an archaistic rhetorical trick employed not only in the marthiyya qasida but also in other classes of qasīdas². Thus we see in our qasida the four fold repetition of the phrase wa kam(and how many³)

With these characteristic features our qasida is a fine marthiyya-qasida from the period of decadence of Arabic literature. It is worthy of our attention for two reasons:

Firstly, it is the only hitherto known work of Taqī al-Dīn Ismā'īl b. Abī al-Yusr and a specimen of post-classical Arabic poetry written in the refined style of the court poets.

1. Ibid, PP. 313-4.

2. Ibid, PP. 314-20

3. The same wa kam is repeated by Abū Nuwās thirteen times in

a qasida (Dīwān, ed. by-Iskandar Aṣaf, Cairo, 1898, P.140).Cf.

The note in Goldzher, Op.cit.,P.315.

Secondly, it is to our knowledge the only poem lamenting the fall of Baghdād and is an excellent poetical expression of the contemporary sentiment felt at the fall of the 'Abbāsids and at the tragedy of their capital. Despite the decadence of the last Abbasids, their prestige was still so great throughout the Muslim world that even the court-poet of the then flourishing Ayyabid dynasty, in Damascus could not help lamenting that with them the splendour of Islām had passed away and that after the capture of the Prophet's family he could not hope either to remain alive. His presentiment was justified, because one generation later, in 699-700/1299-1301, his own city, Damascus, and the Ayyūbid empire were invaded by the same Mongols who, after destroying the "Crown of the Caliphate", Swept over all the Muslims Orient.

CHAPTER-VI

AL-DHAHABĪ'S POSITION

As an author al-Dhahabī was not as prolific as Ibn al-Jawzī before him or Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī after him. However, some of his works have attained a high standard in East and West alike. Like practically all the post-classical Arab authors al-Dhahabī was also a compiler. But his works are distinguished by careful compilation and constant references to his authorities. It is for these peculiarities that his works on Tradition, specially on the 'ʿIlm al-Rijāl', have become very popular. But his name and fame spread far and wide due to his greatest work on History of Islam (Tārīkh al-Islām).

Al-Dhahabī's many-sided qualities were acknowledged both by his contemporaries and his later biographers. By the latter he was commonly referred to as Muhaddith al-ʿAsr (The Traditionist of the Age) and Khātam al-Huffāz (The Seal or the Last of the hafizs). Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī mentioned a selected poetical phrases composed by al-Dhahabī himself¹ as :

إذا قرأ الحديث على شخصي وأخلى موضعاً لوفاة مثلي
فما جازى بإحساني ؛ لأني أريته حياته ويريد قتلي

"If a man has studied Hadīth (Tradition) under me and open a place for the death of my image; He has not repayed with a charity giving, because I wish his living and he wishes my killing."

1. Cf. Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, Fawāt al-Wafayāt, Vol.ii, P.372.

Ibn Shākir also quoted al-Dhahabī's poetry as¹ :

العلم قال الله قال رسوله
وخذار من نصب الخلاف جهالة بين الرسول وبين رأى فقيهه

"The true knowledge is what Allah and His Messenger Muhammad(s) said, and what is an unanimous resolution, so go on fighting for its cause; Beware of preparing a dispute between the Messenger(s), and the opinion of a theologian (jurisprudent) out of ignorance".

According to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī, "al-Dhahabī had nothing of the rigidity of the traditionists or the stupidity of the historians. On the contrary he was a lawyer of spirit (Faqīh al-Nafs), and was well experienced with the sayings (opinions) of the people. He was an expert in the opinions of Madhāhib of the Imāms, skilled in the essay writers and the style of the preceeding generations. Any kind of tradition comes to him he scrutinizes its weak. text or unknown chains of its narration or defamation of its narrators².

Ibn Hajar al-ʿAsqalānī adds to this statement and says, "I drank from the water of Zamzam in order to reach the rank of al-Dhahabī in ḥifẓī" So, he composed a beautiful Qaṣīda (ode) in praise of Al-Dhahabī's excellent qualities. So, he composed as³:

1. Ibid, P.372.

2. Cf. Salah al-Din al-Safadi, al-Wafi bi al-Wafayat, Vol.ii, pp.163-68.

3. Cf. Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani, al-Durar al-Kamina(Hayderabad,1349/1930) vol.3, P.337.

فدوم كالشمس في أعلى محل
وخطي أن تعيش مدى الليالي
وإنك لا تمل وانت تعلم

"your friend has no intention in that, so live like the sun in the high position; My fate is that you may live throughout the nights. You should not be tired although you are restless."

On the other hand, we also find opinions adverse to his reputation. His own most eminent pupil 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Alī Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 728-772/1327-1370) reproached him with reviling even his own Shāfi'ī School of theology in addition to the Ḥanafis and the Aṣḥārīs, and extolling the theological tendency known as al-Mujassima. In spite of that al-Subkī celebrated al-Dhahabī in an elegy as¹:

من الحديث وللسارحين في الطلب
من الرواية للأخبار ينشرها
من بعد موت الإمام الحافظ الذهبي
بين البرية من عجم ومن عرب

"After the death of al-Imām al-Hāfiẓ al-Dhahabī there is no man for ḥadīth (tradition) and there is no man for seekers of it who travel at night; There is also no man after him who can narrate the ḥadīth and spread it among all mankind whether they are Arabs or non-Arabs".

But on the other hand, we also find opinions which tend to detract from the reputation of al-Dhahabī. Thus his contemporaries Abū al-Fidā' and 'Umar b. al-Wardī, while admitting that he was an

1. Al-Subkī, Tabaqāt al-Shāfi'ia al-Kubrā, (Egypt: al-Maṭbā'a al-

Husayniyya, n.d), vol.v, P.218.

historian and traditionist of a high rank, state that towards the end of his life when he became blind in 743/1342-43, according to others as early as in 741/1340 he compiled biographies of some of his contemporaries, which they were still alive from biased and seeing his end approaching, information obtained from enthusiastic young men who gathered round him. Not being able to verify their statements himself, he quite unwillingly tarnished the good reputation of certain persons. Al-Dhahabī's vast knowledge of the narrators of ḥadīth led his pupil al-Subkī to comment that al-Dhahabī was a master of al-Jarḥ wa al-Ta'dīl and an expert in the knowledge of the science of Narrators. As if the whole nation assembled in one particular place which he observed and then began to narrate the biographies of those, present there.

Al-Dhahabī's intellectual life and position can be discussed in three ways - the mode of the recitation of the holy Qur'ān, the narration and compilation of the Hadīth and his historical writings. Hence we may rightly discuss him as a recitor, a traditionist and a historian of the first rank. In the field of the modes of recitation of the holy Qur'ān we find his utmost endeavour in his safeguarding the integrity of the holy Quran. Hence he was named al-ustādh al-Thiqā al-Kabīr (The Great Reliable Teacher).

Al-Dhahabī's contemporary and subsequent writers acknowledged

his honourable position in the fields of ḥadīth theology and history al-Ṣafadī, as we mentioned before, says that he is astonished at al-Dhahabī's precautions against errors in his compilations. He does not proceed with any Ḥadīth till he explains its textual weakness or faults in the chain of its narrators or flows in its narration. Al-Ṣafadī also adds that he has never seen anybody else to be so cautious of a ḥadīth.

Al-Dhahabī's position remained unchallenged in the subsequent generations. In the 9th/15th century al-Suyūṭī mentioned that the Muḥaddithes of the Science of narration were dependant on four persons one of them was al-Dhahabī. Al-Dhahabī has a great many collections of books on history. His position and honour exalted in this field. We should mention two things for which al-Dhahabī was often criticised by his opponents¹.

First, he was not impartial while writing biographies on those who contradicted him in their beliefs. We know that al-Dhahabī was a Shāfiī in the subsidiary rules, and a Ḥanbalī in the fundamentals. His inclination to the opinions of Ḥanbalī Theology led him to

1. Cf. Al-Dhahabī, Siyar A'lam al-Nubalā', PP.26-29.

believe that the Ash'arites were in the wrong. His student al-Subkī touched twice on this matter in his book Muīd al-Nī'an and once in his Tabaqāt. While discussing the effect of a historian on the general people al-Subkī comments that often a historian approaches harms from the nations of opposite beliefs. Because, he believes that they are in the wrong. That is why either he is critical of them or he fails to appreciate them. This is what has frequently happened to our teacher Dhahabī in his dealing with the Ash'arites. May Allah bless him. Al-Dhahabī is our teacher. But what is true must be followed. He also adds that By God, al-Dhahabī was undoubtedly pious and virtuous. But he was prejudiced against his opponents and believed that they were in the wrong¹.

Al-Subkī was one of the close students of al-Dhahabī. He praised his teacher highly in his Tabaqāt and graduated in the field of Ḥadīth under his supervision. But he criticised al-Dhahabī as we stated above. It is important to note that al-Subkī admits the partiality of al-Dhahabī which was not at all whimsical; rather it resulted from his established belief that his opponents were in the wrong. He used to believe something as well as defend it with

1. Ibid, P.28.

a reason. Owing to the diversity in beliefs an individual even a group turned hostile to another in every age. In spite of that al-Dhahabī used to evaluate the people with his own reasons and established beliefs. For example, he did not like chemistry. So, he spoke of his companion and teacher 'Alī b. Ahmad al-Wāsitī, "Our companion was absorbed in chemistry and was thus a victim of a hallucination". He was also discontented with Sufism. So, he made a comment on his teacher 'Abd al-Muhsin b. al-Adim, "He used to make himself busy with the mockeries of Sufism". He also disliked philosophy. So he told about his friend al-Hasan b. Ahmad b. Zāfar, "He was so indifferent to his religion and a philosopher in his faith". But al-Dhahabī appreciated his other deeds and did justice to him. This is how he wrote other biographies. He criticised the person whose biography he writes for his demerits and praised him for his merits. His biography on Ibn Taymiyyah is an excellent example. He praised him for some of his works he liked and criticised him for some other works. He disliked during his life time and hereafter. Thus he wrote the life history of Muḥammad b. Irāhīm b. Junāa and told, "He is an Ash'arī Scholar." He praised him well and did not belittle him for his being an Ash'arī¹.

1. Ibid, PP. 29-30.

In the light of the above discussion we can come to the conclusion that al-Dhahabī was not so biased as his contemporaries alleged him to be. Despite being a Ḥanbalī, his biographers did much, though not full, justice to him. It is a mark of honour and position shown to him when he was compared with other historians like al-Sakhāwī who were intentionally biased and not motivated by any belief or reason. So they were far from being judicious.

Second, Ibn al-Wardī (d.749/1348) alone accuses that al-Dhahabī was very hasty. So, he wrote biographies on living personalities of his age depending on the youths visiting him frequently. Ibn al-Wardī lived first in Egypt and then in Aleppo where he died one year after al-Dhahabī's death. He did not have close association with al-Dhahabī unlike al-Birzālī, al-Ṣafadī, al-Ḥusainī, Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, Ibn Kathīr and al-Subkī who knew him well. In spite of their close association with al-Dhahabī at Damascus none of them accused him of his dependence on the youths as Ibn al-Wardī did. Al-Dhahabī's biographies on the contemporary living personalities are, in our opinions, a great achievement for him. We find his originality in what he wrote about his age in his books excluding his biographical works and historical events. So, it is impossible

on his part to depend on the youths without verifying their reports and correcting them¹.

It is quite natural that al-Dhahabī's theological opponents used to hurt him with the words that he takes sides in favour of his own group of theology and depreciated the values of his opponents. This was an old practice in order to harm the compilers, but in order to make the renowned authors unknown to the people. The Syrian Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn (d.842/1438)² compared al-Dhahabī between al-Birzālī and al-Mizzī. So, he pronounced a verdict in favour of al-Mizzī that he is superior in learning the science of narrators (al-Rijāl) of the 1st century Tabaqāt. He also passed a judgement in favour of al-Birzālī that he is superior among the contemporary and predecessors of the nearer Tabaqāt (classes). Thereafter he commented that al-Dhahabī is superior in the middle Tabaqāt (Classes) as some of his professors remarked about him³. Al-Dhahabī's position as a historian, traditionist and lawyer was acknowledged by his friends and foes alike. So, they remarked that

1. Ibid, P.30

2. Cf. Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, al-Tibyān, 21st class, Ms. available in the library of Arif Hikma at Madina.

3. Cf. Muhammad Kurd 'Alī, Kunūz al-Ajād (Damascus: Maṭbā' al-Taraqqī, 1370/1950), pp.372-73.

he is a man of ^{‘ilm} Asmā’ al- Rijāl (The Science of Narration) in every path and circumstances. As if the sources of knowledge accomplished in a particular soil. So he meditated in them and began to give information about them. He served this art of hadīth day and night till his legs penetrated in it. But his tongue and pen were not tired. He, therefore, became an example in this branch of knowledge. People are interested in his works and they began to travel to him for reading writing and hearing hadīth from him¹.

Al-Dhahabī was a historian unlike other historians and a traditionist unlike other traditionists. He was man who sided the intellect and became unparalleled in his writings and compilations. He deeply thought in difference branches of knowledge which he embraced. Then he brought out a new thing adding to it an old one. Thereafter he filled up a vacuum which might remain vacant, if he was not. He founded a design which was considered by some traditionists as a supererogatory. He was a Imam who worked hard with his knowledge and the subsequent generations, therefore, got benefit from it. People used to say that when the prides of Hafiz Ibn ‘Asākir are counted in the 6th/12th century. Damascus should get pride in

1. Ibid, P.371.

considering the domain of knowledge of Ḥāfiẓ al-Dhahabī in the 8th/14th century. Their fame and getting benefit from their books cannot be stopped in the boundary of Damascus or the Syrian countries but it will go up to the East and West. So, both of them were greatest Muslim historians¹.

Al-Dhahabī was a poet, but not of high ranking. His talent for poetry was certainly well known in his own time. Al-Katabī quotes some lines from his poetical works, but does not mention any independent anthology or other work on poetry by him. This is probably due to the circumstances that his poems were read only by a limited number of courtiers and scholars in Damascus. Al-Dhahabī being a poet, was much interested in the poetry of others. He, therefore, included in his Tārīkh al-Islām a Qasīda comprised 21 lines lamenting the decline of the glorious city of Baghdād. The author of this Qasida is called by al-Dhahabī Taqī al-Dīn Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī al-Yusr.

The Qasīda begins thus:²

لَسْأَلُ اللَّيْلَ عَنْ بَغْدَادِ أَخْبَارَ	فَمَا وَقَفَكَ وَالْأَحْبَابَ قَدْ سَارُوا
يَا زَائِرِيْنِي إِلَى الزُّوْرَادِ لَا تَقْدُوا	فَمَا بَدَّكَ الْحُمَى وَالْأَدَارَ دَيَّارَ

1. Ibid, PP.370-71.

2. Cf. Joseph de Somogyi, "A Qasīda on the Destruction of Baghdād by the Mongols," BSOS, Vol.7 (1933), PP. 41-48.

" The fast flowing tears give tidings of (the fate of) Baḡhdād;
why your stay, when the lovers have separated?

O the pilgrims to al-Zawra' ! Go not forth; for in that sanct-
uary and adob is no inhabitant."

This Qaṣida is a fine marthiyya-Qaṣida from the period of
decadence of Arabic literature. It is worthy of our attention for two
reasons.

Firstly, it is the only hitherto known work of Taqī al-Dīn
Ismā'īl b. Abī al-Yusr and a specimen of post-classical Arabic poetry
written in the refined style of the court poets.

Secondly, it is to our knowledge the only poem lamenting the
fall of Baḡhdād and is an excellent poetical expression of the con-
temporary sentiment felt at the fall of the 'Abbasids and at the
tragedy of their capital¹.

1. Cf. Joseph de Somogyi, " A Qaṣida on the Destruction of

Baḡhdād by the Mongols," Bulletin of the School of Oriental
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